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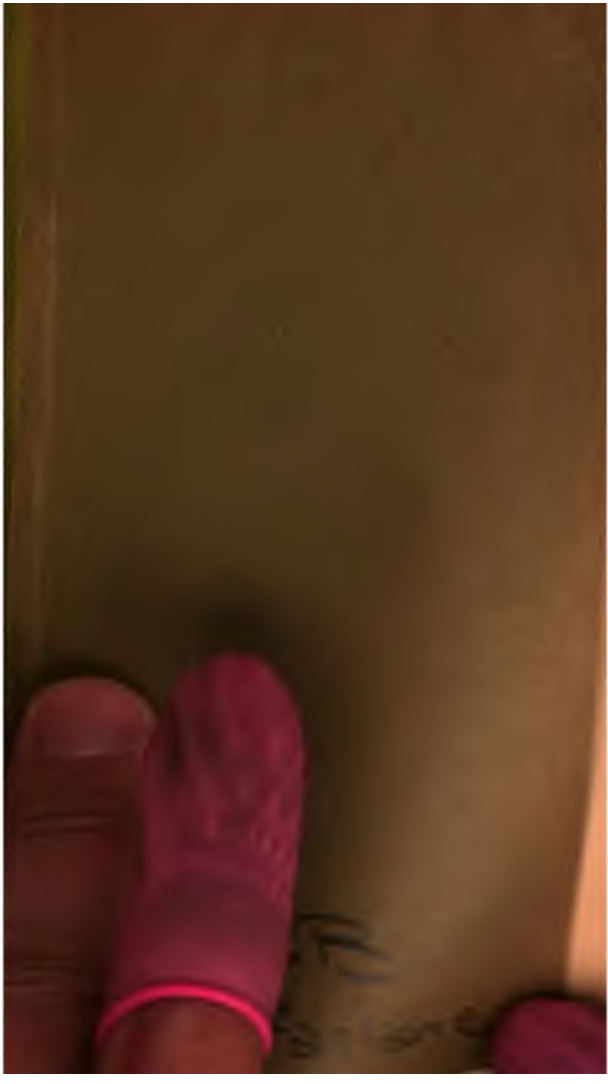

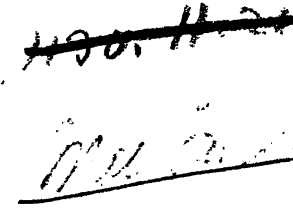

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THE

CABINET.

History of England

VOL. VII.

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME VII.

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CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1485—1603.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

HENRY VIII.—*Continued.*

MEANWHILE "the king continued much prone to reformation, especially if anything might be gotten by it."* Nothing was more easy than to prove that all the monastic orders had been engaged in the late insurrection; and, as many of the richest abbeys and priories remained as yet untouched, there was no want of wise counsellors, anxious to share in the spoils, to recommend the suppression of all of them. In some cases, out of a dread of martial law, or what was equally bad, a prosecution for high treason, the abbots surrendered, gave, and granted their abbeys unto the king, his heirs and assigns for ever; but still many replied, like the Prior of Henton in Somersetshire, "that they would not be light and hasty in giving up those things which were not theirs to give, being dedicated to Almighty God, for service to be done to his honour continually, with other many good deeds of charity which be daily done in their houses to their Christian neighbours."† These recusants were treated with great severity. The prisons were crowded with priors and monks, who died so rapidly in their places of confinement as to excite a dreadful suspicion.

* Bishop Godwin. † Ellis's Orig. Letters.

Without waiting for a needless act of parliament, the king suppressed many other houses, and soon after, with the full consent of Lords and Commons, finished this business by seizing all the abbeys without exception, and all the rest of the religious houses, except a very few, which were spared at the earnest petition of the people, or given up to the representatives of their original founders. Before proceeding to the final suppression, under pretext of checking the superstitious worshipping of images, he had laid bare their altars and stripped their shrines of everything that was valuable; nor did he spare the rich coffins and the crumbling bones of the dead. At the distance of four hundred years, exasperated at that extraordinary man's opposition to the royal prerogative, he determined to have vengeance upon the bones and relics of Thomas à Becket. The martyr's tomb was broken open, and, by an insane process, worthy of a Nero or a Caligula, a criminal information was filed against him as "Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury," and he was formally cited to appear in court and answer to the charges. Thirty days were allowed the saint, but we need scarcely inform our readers that his dishonoured bones rested quietly at Canterbury and did not appear to plead in Westminster Hall. We have repeatedly noticed Henry's nice attention to the forms of law and justice: on the present occasion, when Becket might have been declared contumacious, and have had judgment passed against him for default of appearance, the king, by his special grace, assigned him counsel to plead for him. With due solemnity the court opened its proceedings on the 11th of June, 1539. The attorney-general eloquently exposed the case for the prosecution; and the advocates of the saint, who no doubt spoke less boldly, were heard in defence: and that being over, sentence was pronounced that Becket had been guilty of rebellion, treason, and contumacy; that his bones should be burned as a lesson to the living not to oppose the royal will; and that the rich offerings with which many generations of men, native and foreign, had en-

riched his shrine should be forfeited to the crown as the personal property of the traitor. In the month of August Cromwell, who must have smiled at the course pursued, sent down some of his commissioners to Canterbury, who executed their task so well that they filled two immense coffers with gold and jewels, each of them so heavy that it required eight strong men to lift it. A few months after the king, by proclamation, stated to his people, that, forasmuch as it now clearly appears Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot provoked by his own obstinacy and insolence, and had been canonised by the Bishop of Rome merely because he was a champion of that usurped authority, he now deemed it proper to declare that he was no saint whatever, but a rebel and traitor to his prince, and that therefore he, the king, strictly commanded that he should not be any longer esteemed or called a saint,—that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed,—and that his name and remembrance should be erased out of all books under pain of his majesty's indignation and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.*

Other shrines had been plundered before, and certain miraculous images and relics of saints had been broken in pieces at St. Paul's Cross, and the machinery exposed by which some of the monks had deluded the superstitious people; but now every shrine was laid bare, or, if any escaped, it was owing to the poverty of their decorations and offerings. Hitherto Henry had burned the reformers, and hanged the Catholics; but, on the 22nd of May (1539), a monk was hanged up by the armpits, and underneath him a fire was made, "wherewith he was slowly burned." There was a pulpit erected near the stake, from which Hugh Latimer, now bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon; and there was also a scaffold in the centre, for the accommodation of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Admiral Howard, the Lord Privy Seal (Cromwell), and divers others of the council, together with Sir Richard Gresham, lord

* Wilkins, Concilia.

mayor, and many citizens. By frequent spectacles like these was the mind of England brutalised to a degree scarcely ever seen before!*

In the final seizures of the abbeys and monasteries the richest fell first. After Canterbury, Battle Abbey; Merton, in Surrey; Stratford, in Essex; Lewes, in Sussex; the Charter House, the Black Friars, the Grey Friars, and the White Friars, in London, felt the fury of the same whirlwind, which gradually blew over the whole land, until in the spring of the year 1540, all the monastic establishments of the kingdom were suppressed, and the mass of their landed property was divided among courtiers and parasites. The gold and silver and costly jewels of shrines had partly gone in that direction, and had partly been kept for the king's use. Between the ignorant zealots of the new doctrines, and the rudeness of the men employed in the suppression, who were all most anxious for spoil, and who probably cared little for any form of religion, or any decency of worship, innumerable works of art were destroyed, and magnificent specimens of architecture were defaced and left roofless; statues and pictures, many of them the productions of Italian masters, and which had, in the eye of taste, a sort of holiness independent of saints and madonnas, were broken to pieces or burnt. The Mosaic pavements of the chapel were torn up, and the same brutal hands smashed the painted windows, which almost more than anything gave beauty and glory to our old abbeys and cathedrals. The church-bells were gambled for, and sold into Russia and other countries. The libraries—of which all the great houses contained one, numerously, if not well stocked, but wherein, no doubt, existed many a book in manuscript which we would now willingly possess—were treated with the greatest contempt. "Some books were reserved so scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some sold to the grocers and soap-boilers, and some sent over sea to bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsful, to the wondering

* Hall.—Stow.—Godwin.

of foreign nations; a single merchant purchasing, at forty shillings a-piece, two noble libraries to be used as grey paper."*

All the abbeys were totally dismantled except in the cases where they happened to be the parish churches also; as was the case at St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, Malvern, and elsewhere, where they were rescued, in part, by the petitions and pecuniary contributions of the pious inhabitants, who were averse to the worshipping of God in a stable. Cranmer and Latimer petitioned the king in some cases; but, as is proved by their existing letters, they were too dependent on the court and too fearful of its wrath to do very much.

The men who had recommended the wholesale spoliation of the church had represented it as a never-failing fund, which would enable the king to carry on his government with none, or but the slightest taxes, and would furnish him with the means of creating and supporting earls, barons, and knights, and of forming excellent institutions for the promotion of industry, education, and religion. But, in the event, the property was squandered in a manner which is scarcely accountable; and the king had the conscience to demand from parliament *a compensation for the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state;* and within a year after the completion of his measures, the slavish parliament voted him a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths for this express purpose. None of the objects spoken of were promoted by the money of the religious houses, always excepting the making and supporting certain noblemen. Pauperism increased, as the whole body of the poor, which had been supported by the monks, who had funds for that purpose, were thrown clamorous and desperate, and unprepared for, and unprovided with employment, upon the wondering nation, which had not before been aware of the extent of the evil. Education declined rapidly; the schools kept in the monasteries were at an end; and other schools and even the universities were compara-

* Spelman, History and Fate of Sacrilege.

tively deserted. Religion was not promoted—for nothing but miserable stipends were given to the preachers, and none but poor and unlettered men would accept the office. To preach at St. Paul's Cross had been a great object of clerical ambition; but now there was a difficulty of finding a sufficient number of preachers for that duty; and about four years after the final suppression, Bonner, bishop of London, wrote to Parker, then master of Corpus, importuning him to send him some help from Cambridge; and, not long after that, during the short reign of Edward VI., Latimer said, "I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years." The rural parishes were served by priests who had scarcely the rudiments of education. Following an example set them by the king, who required Cromwell to give a benefit to a priest who was kept in the royal service, because he had trained two hawks for his majesty's pastime, which flew and killed their game very well,* the patrons of livings gave them to their menials as wages or rewards, to their gardeners, to the keepers of their hawks and hounds.†

So completely were the funds absorbed, and so greedy were the courtiers in keeping what they got, that no proper recompense was reserved for Miles Coverdale and his associates, who translated and printed the first complete English Bible—the greatest achievement of the age, and the measure that most effectually promoted the Reformation. Coverdale himself was left in great poverty; and the printers, in order to cover their expenses, were obliged to put a high price upon their copies, thus impeding the circulation of the book, and thwarting the wishes expressed by the king himself.‡

* Letter from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, dated at Hampton Court, the 12th September, 1537.—*State Papers.*

† Latimer's Sermons.—Strype.—Spelman, Hist. and Fate of Sacrilege, with letters quoted therein, and by Leland.—Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation.

‡ Letters addressed by Coverdale and Grafton the printer to Cromwell, from Paris, in the year 1538, in State Papers.

The destruction of the monasteries left important gaps even in the physical accommodations of the people, which not a pound sterling of the spoil was devoted to fill up. They had been hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries for the poor—caravansaries to the wayfarer,—and, in the absence of inns, the badness of roads, and the thinness of the population, their value had been felt in this respect both by rich and poor. In many of the wilder districts they had served as a nucleus of civilization, and sociality and hospitality were nowhere to be found but within these walls. The Chancellor Audley, who was seldom anxious to stop the hand of the spoiler, and who partook largely in the spoil, ventured, in a letter to Cromwell, to beg that two of the abbeys in Essex might be left standing on this account. The Archbishop Cranmer, however, did what he could with safety to himself; and Henry, startled perhaps by a popular outcry, resolved to appropriate a part of the spoil to the advancement of religion. Parliament passed an act for establishing new bishoprics, deaneries, and colleges, which were to be endowed with revenues raised on the lands of the monasteries; but it was too late; the money and lands were gone, or the king and his ministers needed all that remained. The number of new bishoprics was reduced from eighteen to six—those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; and these were so scantily endowed that they scarcely afforded the new bishops the means of living.* At the same time, fourteen abbeys and priories were converted into cathedrals and collegiate churches, with deans and prebendaries; but the king kept to himself a part of the lands which had been attached to them, and charged the chapters with the obligation of contributing annually to the support of the poor and the repairs of the highways.

In order to bring this interesting subject—which, notwithstanding its connexion with the history of religion,

* Journals. — Strype.—Rymer.—Godwin.—Westminster was erected into a bishopric on the 17th of December, 1540; Oxford in 1541; Peterborough in 1541; Bristol in 1542; Chester in 1542; and Gloucester in 1541.

cannot be separated from the political history of the time—under one point of view, we have outrun several contemporary events which we must now take up.

Although the king had overthrown so many of the fundamental doctrines and practices of the Roman church, he would allow no man in his dominions the right of questioning such as in his wisdom he had thought fit to retain; and in the month of November, 1538, only a few days after his proclaiming Thomas à Becket a rebel and traitor, the fires of Smithfield again blazed, and a man and a woman were consumed in them as Anabaptists. But in the same month one John Lambert, formerly in priest's orders, but now a schoolmaster in London, who had adopted the views of the German reformers respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and opponent of the truth, to be burnt alive. The sentence was executed in Smithfield with some circumstances of unusual atrocity. Cromwell, writing to Wyatt, the ambassador in Germany, dilates in praise of Henry's conduct on this occasion. We have no letters to show from the prelates, but Cranmer and the bishops concurred in the abominable proceeding, although some of them besides Cranmer were more than suspected of going the whole length of the German reformers, and of entertaining precisely the same notions as to the sacrament for which Lambert was burnt alive.*

Before this time the pope had not only published his bull of excommunication, but had laboured to reconcile the great Catholic princes of the continent, in order that they might make a crusade against Henry, whose cruelties excited universal disgust. His great effort was to make up all quarrels between the King of France and the emperor; and by his mediation a truce for ten years was concluded at Nice on the 18th of June, 1538. During the whole of the years 1538 and 1539, Henry, who was unprepared for war, and who, by this time, had become suspicious of all his subjects, was kept in a constant state

* Hall.—Godwin.—Fox.—Collier.

of alarm by reports that Francis and Charles were about to head a league against him; and great was the labour of his more courageous minister Cromwell to remove these apprehensions and jealousies.* On one occasion Cromwell assures his majesty that there is no need of being so hot and cold, seeing that there are no ships preparing in Spain for invasion: on another he comforts him with the prospect of a new and extended alliance among the Protestant princes of Germany, which will be sure to find the emperor employment; and in another he thinks that the finger of God is visible in the stirring up of the Great Turk, who is resolved to make a fresh invasion of Christendom. Shortly after, however, the minister was obliged to allude to some practices of the Cardinal Pole, and to tell the king that he had learned from Rome a rumour that the emperor, the French king, and the pope were carrying on an active correspondence, but that it was thought that the two sovereigns were only giving the pope "fair words to feed him with."

At the end of the year 1538 the Lord Montacute and Sir Geoffrey Pole, brothers to the cardinal; Henry Courtney, marquess of Exeter, grandson to King Edward IV. by his daughter Catherine; Sir Edward Neville; two priests named Croft and Collins; and one Holland, a mariner, were suddenly apprehended and conveyed to the Tower. In the beginning of the year 1539 the Marquess of Exeter and the Lord Montacute were arraigned before some peers,† and the commoners were

* The king's dread, and Cromwell's labour to remove it, are both well proved by original letters still in existence. At this moment Cromwell maintained spies and secret agents at Rome, Naples, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Madrid, Paris, Brussels, Frankfort, and in almost every corner of Europe. One of the chief objects of these agents was to watch the movements of Cardinal Pole, and otherwise to pick up information as to the treaties between the Catholic princes, and their preparations or non-preparations for war. — *State Papers.*

† They were certainly not tried in a regular manner before the peers in parliament, for parliament did not meet for

tried before a jury, on a vague charge of having devised to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pole, late dean of Exeter, the king's enemy beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. We have no particulars of these trials; but Geoffrey Pole, the youngest of the brothers, upon a promise of pardon, pleaded guilty, and made a confession involving all the rest, who thereupon were condemned to death as traitors.

Lord Herbert says that he "could never discover the particular offences of these great persons. . . . . .Only I find among our records that Thomas Wriothesley, secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyatt, his highness's ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved;" and he adds that another writer said they had sent the cardinal (Pole) money. Cromwell might have had better proofs of their correspondence with the cardinal, through means of his spies and agents; but we have no letter of his that touches upon this prosecution. The Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montacute had remained steady and loyal during the insurrection in the north, where, on account of their descent from the White Rose, they might have exercised a dangerous influence. There was certainly no overt act of treason; and the main cause of their death seems to have been Henry's dread and jealousy of their royal descent, and his anxiety to be revenged upon the cardinal, whose own person was out of his reach, and whose abilities and energies were at the moment actively employed in raising him up enemies. Sir Geoffrey Pole was allowed a dishonoured life. His brother, Lord Montacute, the Marquess of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville were beheaded on Tower Hill on the 9th of January, 1539; the two priests and the mariner were hanged and quartered at Tyburn. But Henry's

more than two months after their execution. It appears that the chancellor Audley acted as high-steward on this occasion. On the 3rd of March Sir Nicholas Carew, knight of the garter, and master of the king's horse, was beheaded for being of counsel with the Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montacute.

hatred was not yet satisfied, nor his jealous fears set at rest. In the month of February Cromwell "learned out of Scotland" that there was a French ship, with sundry passengers, about to set sail from Leith; and on the 14th of March he wrote joyfully to inform the king "that a certain French ship, laden with Scottish goods, had been driven by stress of weather into South Shields;" and that the Earl of Westmoreland, "being advised by certain persons from Scotland," had seized and searched the ship, and had found "under the baggage, in the bottom thereof, a nest of traitors; that is to say, one Robert Moore, a priest of Chichester, who had lately escaped from Hexham prison, and two Irishmen, a monk, and a friar, who had with them seditious and traitorous letters directed to the Bishop of Rome and to the traitor Pole." The poor Irish monk was carried up to London; and, a few days after, Cromwell wrote to the king: "We cannot as yet get the pith of the credence, whereby I am advised to-morrow to go to the Tower, and see him set in the brakes,* and, by torment, compelled to confess the truth."† We are not informed as to the full result of this visit to the Tower; but when parliament met on the 28th of April they were instructed to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole; Gertrude, the widow of the Marquess of Exeter; the son of Lord Montacute, a boy of tender years; Sir Adrian Fortescue; and Sir Thomas Dingley. The cardinal's venerable mother (the Coun-

* The brake was an instrument of torture: it was also called the Duke of Exeter's daughter.

† In this same letter Cromwell speaks of the new parliament which was to meet in April. "Amongst other, for your grace's parliament, I have appointed your majesty's servant, Mr. Morrison, to be one of them: no doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack or face with literature of learning, or by indirected waver, if any such shall be, as I think there shall be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your delicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass that your majesty had never more tractable parliament."—*State Papers.*

tess of Salisbury, was seventy years old) was privately examined at her first arrest by the Earl of Southampton, and Goodrich, the bishop of Ely, before whom she behaved with so much firmness of character that they wrote to their employer, Cromwell, that she was more like a strong and constant man than a woman,—that she denied everything laid to her charge, and that it seemed to them either that her sons had not made her "privy or participant of the bottom and pit of their stomach, or that she must be the most arrant traitress that ever lived."* Cromwell himself examined the Marchioness of Exeter, but, as it should appear, without success.† Although Cromwell had got possession of the persons of some of the Countess of Salisbury's servants, he could not extract sufficient materials for a criminal information. Upon this he called up the judges and asked them whether parliament might condemn persons accused of treason without any previous trial or confession; and the servile judges replied, that, though it was a nice question, and one that no inferior tribunal could entertain, there was no doubt that the court of parliament was supreme, and that any attainder by parliament would be good in law. Such a bill, accordingly, the parliament passed, condemning to death all the accused, without any form of trial whatever. The two knights were beheaded on the 10th of July: the Marchioness of Exeter, after being further questioned by Cromwell in the Tower, was pardoned some six months after. The old Countess of Salisbury was kept in prison, but what became of her grandson, the child of Lord Montacute, who was included in the attainder, does not appear. Nearly two years after the passing of the iniquitous act of attainder, on the 27th of May, 1541, the aged countess, the nearest to the king in blood of all his relations, on some new provocation, real or fancied, of her son Cardinal Pole, was dragged from her dungeon in the Tower to the scaffold.‡

* Ellis.—Letter from Lord Southampton and the Bishop of Ely to Cromwell.

† State Papers.—Letter from Cromwell to the king.

‡ Pole, Epist.—Hall.—Godwin.

But before this happened the minister Cromwell had gone to his account. If the Catholic or Papist party were not the sole cause of the ruin of this man they seem to have contributed to that event quite as much as his bad luck in match-making for the king. Each of the two great religious parties was animated with the most deadly animosity against the other, neither of them conceiving for a moment the expediency of a mutual toleration and an agreement among themselves as a means of resisting the still-growing tyranny of the crown; and both ministered in turn to the king's insatiable thirst for blood. Cromwell, with Cranmer, had all along proposed a close alliance with the Protestant states of Germany; and when Henry was alarmed about the coalition of the Catholic powers, he thought seriously of this alliance, and sent several ambassadors into Germany. But as religion was to be the basis of the alliance, the German Protestants wished to see a uniformity of faith and practice established in England, and insisted that, at the least, Henry should permit priests to have wives, and should command private masses to be abolished. The king, who, according to Cromwell, "knew himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe," thought it became not him to submit to them, but expected that they should submit to him, and take his ecclesiastical ordinances as their model and guide. The Germans, who considered him as a slave to the very worst of the dogmas of the Roman Church, would not listen to such conditions. Henry now evinced a sudden anxiety to reconcile himself with the Catholic party, by showing them that, though he had cast off the authority of the pope, he was as far as ever from entertaining the leading tenets of Luther. The Duke of Norfolk, who favoured the old learning, was unexpectedly sent for, commissioned to manage the affairs of the crown in the House of Peers, and placed, in many matters, over the head of Cromwell: Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the most zealous of all the Papists, was also recalled to court, and ordered to preach a course of sermons at St. Paul's Cross. The king must have known the diversity of opinion which prevailed among

the bench of bishops, and he was now resolved that this should cease, probably feeling that it was hard to expect unanimity among the people, when their spiritual teachers, the prelates appointed by himself, differed widely in opinion. In the parliament which attainted the mother of Cardinal Pole, and the rest of those victims, he ordered the appointment of a committee of spiritual lords, among whom Cromwell was included in virtue of his office of vicar-general; and this committee was charged to examine the diversity of opinions in matters of faith, with the view of producing a final agreement. In the absence of the king, Cromwell, and Cranmer, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Goodrich, bishop of Ely, ventured to oppose the more Catholic notions of Lee, archbishop of York, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, Aldrich, bishop of Carlisle, Clarke, bishop of Bath, and Salcot, alias Capon, bishop of Bangor. Eleven days of disputation wore out the patience of Henry, who was not present to take part in it; and the Duke of Norfolk, seeing that the committee would never agree, suggested another course, which was adopted by the king's wisdom in concurrence with Bishop Gardiner. On the 18th of May, 1539, the duke proposed to the consideration of the whole House of Lords six questions respecting the Eucharist,—communion under one kind,—private masses,—the celibacy of the priesthood,—auricular confession,—and vows of chastity. On this occasion none but the spiritual peers spoke, and of them only such as were in favour of the Roman practices: the rest, who no doubt knew what was coming, remained silent in their seats. On the second day the king went down to the House and joined in the debate. It was perilous work to oppose a controversialist who was accustomed to back his arguments with the axe, the gallows, and the stake. The temporal lords, not excepting the Lord Chancellor Audley and the Lord Privy Seal Cromwell, were presently all of one opinion; and among the bishops only those of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, defended the contrary side, which they did for a long time, "but yet they were finally confounded with

his highness's goodly learning." There is a dispute between writers of opposite parties as to the extent of the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but it appears that Cranmer really resisted the bill as far as was consistent with the safety of his life, and that he never gave a very formal consent to it. Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, had more courage, and openly resisted to the last; or, in the words of one of the lords who was present, "he yet continued a lewd fool." A few days after, Henry proposed that the severest penalties should be enacted by parliament against all such persons as should dare to teach contrary doctrines, or question the sacred institutions of private masses, confession, and the rest. At the king's order the Lords formed a committee, which, after some changes, was headed and wholly directed by the most violent partisans of the old learning—the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Winchester, the fiery but accomplished Gardiner. This committee readily adopted the Six Articles, or the bloody statute, as it was afterwards called, and which was evidently the joint production of Bishop Gardiner and the king.* It was submitted in a hurry to the clergy assembled in convocation; and, being approved of there, was introduced by the Protestant Chancellor Audley, and passed through both Lords and Commons with infinite ease. These notorious articles were—1. That the Eucharist was really the present natural body and blood of Christ, under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine, which were transmuted by the act of consecration. 2. That the communion under both kinds was not necessary to salvation. 3. That priests could not, by the law of God, marry. 4. That vows of chastity, whether in man or woman, priest, monk, or nun, must be observed. 5. That private masses must be retained as essential. 6. That the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary. To these Six Articles were attached the fol-

* A draft of the act with many corrections, in the king's own hand, is preserved in the British Museum.

lowing penalties: 1. If any person wrote, preached, or disputed against the first article—which settled the question of the real presence in the Eucharist—he should not be allowed to abjure or recant, but should at once be burnt as a heretic, and forfeit his property to the king—a worse penalty than ever was enacted by the Inquisition, which allowed the benefit of one recantation. 2. If any man preached, or spoke openly before the judges against any one of the other five articles he should incur the penalties of felony; but if he only held contrary opinions, and published them, he should, for the first offence, be imprisoned at the king's pleasure, forfeiting his lands during life, his goods for ever; and for the second offence he should die. 3. All marriages of priests or nuns already contracted were to be of no effect; the parties so marrying were to separate immediately, and if they cohabited afterwards it would be punished as felony; priests and nuns found guilty of fornication were to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and death on the second.*

As soon as this barbarous statute was passed, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester, resigned their sees, or they were deprived of them by the king, for refusing to subscribe the edict;† but Cranmer, Fox, and Goodrich did not follow their example. Cranmer, more than all, was in a critical situation; he had brought his German wife, the niece of the Protestant pastor, Osiander, into England; and by this time she had borne him several children. He had kept his family in retirement out of sight of the world; but it is difficult to conceive that such a connexion could be wholly a secret. He had evidently hoped to prevail upon the king to adopt the Lutheran notion with respect to the celibacy of the clergy; but this hope must have

* Journal. — Statutes. — Wilkins. — Fox. — Godwin. — Strype.—Le Grand.—Fragment of a letter preserved in the Museum.

† Latimer resigned on the 1st of July, 1539. He was soon afterwards in prison for speaking against the Six Articles, and remained in confinement till the king's death.

failed him even before the passing of the Six Articles; and he, a married churchman, and the father of a family, had been compelled, on more than one occasion, to denounce severe pains and penalties against all churchmen in the same predicament. Now, however, in all haste he sent his wife and children into Germany, and made himself conformable to the bloody statute. But Cranmer, Latimer, and others, relied with a happy hope on the effect of the Bible, which was now circulated in the language of the people.*

The same dastardly parliament which passed the Six Articles voted also that the king's proclamations had, and ought to have, the full effect of acts of parliament; that all transgressions against such proclamations should be punished with fines and imprisonment, or otherwise at the king's pleasure; and that for a person to quit the kingdom, in order to escape these penalties incurred by disobedience to proclamation, was high treason. (Are we speaking of England, or of an oriental despotism?) Base, however, as were Lords and Commons, this bill encountered some opposition; but still the two religious parties were too intent upon other matters to coalesce and make a bold stand against this horrid tyranny.†

As if he feared he had gone too far in the direction of the church of Rome, the king ordered a silly pageant on the river Thames, where two galleys, the one bearing the royal arms of England, the other the arms of the pope, met and fought in fierce guise. The royal galley was of course victorious, and effigies of the pope and cardinals were thrown overboard amidst the shouts of the king, the court, and the citizens.‡ On the 8th of July the vicar of Wandsworth, with his curate, a man servant, and one Friar Ware, were all hanged and quartered, apparently for questioning the king's supremacy.

* A new and improved edition of the Scriptures, generally called Cranmer's Bible, was published just at this time.

† Statutes.—Fox.—Le Grand.

‡ Letter of Marillac, the French ambassador, quoted by Le Grand.

In the month of November, Richard Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury, was hanged and quartered; and two of his monks, John Thorne, the treasurer, and Roger James, the under-treasurer, were hanged and quartered with him.* In the same month Hugh Farringdon, abbot of Reading, and two of his monks, were hanged and quartered near their abbey; and John Beche, abbot of Colchester, was drawn and quartered near his abbey. All these butcheries of men whom they must have considered as faithful sons of the Roman church, could not but have been distasteful to Gardiner and the other leaders of the old learning; but we do not see that they ever ran the risk of incurring destruction by opposing the king's will, or by protesting against his measures. They, indeed, stood by, and saw men hanged and quartered for questioning the supremacy or resisting the seizure of their abbeys and houses, just as the converts of the new doctrine saw men burnt for entertaining the Protestant notions as to the sacrament and other points; and each party seems to have consoled itself for the sufferings of its own friends by the recollection and the prospect of the sufferings of the other party.

Cromwell had identified himself with the Protestant party, and had gone to such lengths against the Papists, that it was impossible he could ever hope for a safe reconciliation with them. He saw also that the Duke of Suffolk and Bishop Gardiner were gaining ground at court; and to check their progress, he laboured hard to procure Henry a Protestant wife. "The king," says an old writer, "considering his wooing disposition, had long continued a widower."† He had, indeed, been a widower about two years; but this was not owing to a want of alacrity on his part in seeking for another wife. Shortly after the death of Jane Seymour he proposed to the Duchess-Dowager of Milan, who is said to have replied, facetiously, that if she had two heads she might think of the match; but that, as she had but one, she would rather decline the honour. He then addressed

* Letter from Lord Russell to Cromwell. † Godwin.

himself to the Princess Mary of Guise; but this princess was already affianced to his nephew, the King of Scots. A daughter of the House of Vendome was then recommended by the French court; but he refused her because she had been previously rejected by his nephew, the said King of Scots. After this, he had the delicacy to propose that the French king should carry the two sisters of Mary of Guise to Calais, in order that he might go over and choose one of them; but the gallantry of Francis revolted at this idea; and Henry remained wifeless. In the month of March, 1539, we find Cromwell extolling to the king the reported beauty of Anne of Cleves, the sister of the reigning Duke of Cleves, one of the princes of the Protestant confederacy; but he speaks as if the marriage had been already settled.*

Putting, we suppose, more faith in Hans Holbein, his own painter, than in Lucas the court painter of Cleves, Henry despatched Hans to take the young lady's likeness; and in the month of August, one of his ambassadors in Germany wrote a fuller account of her person and accomplishments, assuring his majesty, moreover, that my Lady Anne was not bound by any previous covenant or contract, but was at her free will to marry wherever she would. As for her education, *sobriety*, and morals, the diplomatist said that they were excellent.† The picture—a miniature, in Holbein's best manner—was brought over in an ivory box, which represented a rose, so delicately carved as to be said to be worthy of the jewel it contained. The king fancied himself in love as he contemplated this nice performance of his favourite artist; and the match proceeded. Hoping, no doubt, that a Protestant wife would finish his conversion, many of the German princes gave it their support; and in the month of September the Count Palatine and ambassadors from Cleves arrived in London, where Cromwell, who was in ecstasies at the success of the

* State Papers.

† Ellis's Collection.—Letter of Nicholas Wotton to Henry VIII. The original (not perfect, but injured by fire) is in the British Museum.

scheme, was instructed by his royal master to bid them as hearty a welcome as he could devise.* The king joyfully finished this treaty: but the marriage, instead of making, *marred* Cromwell. All things being prepared as was fitting, and her lover brooking no delay, Anne set forward on her journey in the dreary month of December. Though now unwieldy, Henry rode hastily to Rochester to meet her. He went in disguise, and his first view of her was a secret one,—but it was enough: he shrunk back tottering under the weight of disappointment and dismay; and it was some time before he composed himself sufficiently to wait upon her as her husband and king. It seems to have been with sensations like those with which one swallows a dose of noisome medicine that he embraced her, and gave her his conjugal kiss. The whole interview did not last above the speaking of twenty words: he then hurried from his bride without giving her the presents he had brought with him; and the next morning he sent Sir Anthony Brown, his master of the horse, "with a partlet of sable skins to wear round the neck, and a muffler furred, with as cold a message as might be, and rode himself back to Greenwich marvellously heavy in heart." His fiercest wrath was kindled against all those who had promoted the match; and he considered that the deception practised upon him was a proof that all faith and loyalty had departed the world, and that no mortal man could be trusted. Cromwell was evidently less culpable than the ambassadors and the painters; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and his great boldness and ability, he must have trembled upon receiving the king's summons. A full council met at Greenwich, and there, after abusing him for marrying him to "a great Flanders mare," coarse, clumsey, and "unfit to nourish love," he commanded Cromwell to devise some pretext or plausible cause for preventing the conclusion of the hateful marriage.† In the very doubtful state of his relation with

* State Papers.—Letter from the king to Cromwell.

† After all, it does not appear that Anne of Cleves was an ugly woman; and much of Henry's distaste may have pro-

the Catholic powers, it was humbly but forcibly represented that it might prove very dangerous to give such an affront to the princes of the Protestant confederacy; and Cromwell seems to have made the most of the king's fears. "Is there, then, no remedy?—must I needs, against my will, put my neck into this noose?"—were the affectionate expressions of Henry as he agreed that the marriage should go on. The Lady Anne was met at Blackheath, and with great state brought to Greenwich on the 3rd of January, and she was married on the 5th day of the same month. But Henry's aversion did not abate on a closer acquaintance; and, without going into the disgusting details with which he, without hesitation, entertained his court, and the noble matrons thereof, we need merely state that he lamented his fate in the most pathetic terms, and declared that life would be a burden to him if he were forced to pass it with such a wife.* The Catholic party were greatly rejoiced at this manifest failure of a great Protestant experiment; and other religious feelings came in to hasten the destruction of Cromwell. We will not attempt to explain what perplexed those who were acting on the scene; but, while the Papists made sure that Cromwell's high offices of vicar-general and keeper of the privy seal would immediately fall to Tunstall and Clarke, bishop of Bath, he was not only left in possession, but received from the king's hands the order of the garter, and was created Earl of Essex and lord chamberlain, ostensibly

ceeded from the mere caprice of the jaded voluptuary. He was certainly himself no very loveable object at the time. As he grew fat he wished for a fat wife, and his agents had been expressly commanded to look out for a fine, large woman. But Anne, it appears, was on too large a scale. According to Holbein's picture, her complexion was wonderfully fair and beautiful, and her countenance very agreeable. Marillac, the French ambassador, no prejudiced observer, says that she was tolerably handsome,—*de beauté moyenne*. Like a true Frenchman he criticises her German dress.

* Depositions of the king and Cromwell, in Strype.—Burnet.—Hall.—Stow.

as a reward for his exertions in obtaining an enormous grant from parliament.* It should appear, however, that Henry was making provision for the despatch of the enormous quantity of business which had hitherto been transacted by Cromwell, who must have been a man of iron. He made two secretaries of state, Wriothesley and Ralph Sadler, and divided many important functions of government between them.

We are not told how long the king had bemoaned his fate with Anne of Cleves when he saw the pretty little Lady Catherine Howard ; † but it seems to have been some four or five months. The Lady Catherine was niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and as entire a Papist as Anne was a Protestant. Henry first met her at a dinner given by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. It is supposed that that prelate and his party had calculated upon the impression her charms would make upon him ; and it was natural enough for them to suppose that the next step a man like Henry would take, after espousing a Protestant, would be to choose a wife from the opposite sect. By a "notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly benaviour," Catherine quite captivated the king, who, it appears, frequently met her afterwards at the house of Bishop Gardiner, or of some other person equally anxious for the interests of the Romish church. In this society, composed of the mortal enemies of Cromwell, the king was not likely to hear much good of his minister. Every glance of the bright eyes of Catherine Howard was dangerous to the Protestant interest. At the same time Cromwell, strangely blind to what was passing, continued to deal his sharp blows at the scrupulous Papists who refused the oaths of supremacy ; and he was in the high exercise of despotic power, when, suddenly, on the 10th of June, he was arrested at the council-board on a charge of high treason, and forthwith carried to the Tower. In his days of favour he had en-

* During this session the Knights Hospitallers were dissolved, and their property was vested in the crown.

† This unfortunate young creature was below the usual stature of English women.

couraged the prostration of all law, and the establishment of the most arbitrary modes of proceeding in judicial cases. He had held up the king as being authorised to make and change statutes as he pleased; and he now felt the whole weight of the monstrous tyranny which he had helped to erect and inflate. His papers were seized,—his servants were questioned,—and out of their evidence, which was never produced in court, or submitted to public examination anywhere else, his enemies fabricated a series of charges, the greatest of which amounted to treason. In his fall Cromwell scarcely showed more fortitude than Wolsey: he wrote imploring letters to his most gracious prince, crying "Mercy! Mercy!" Once Henry's heart seemed touched by these appeals, but it was only for a moment. Archbishop Cranmer summoned courage to write a letter in his behalf, but the epistle was not calculated to produce any great effect; and he afterwards gave his vote against his friend. On the 14th of June, Cromwell, deserted by all the world, asked for a trial before his peers, but the court preferred to proceed by bill of attainder, without trial,—a practice which he himself had helped the king to establish, with consent of the slavish parliament. The bill of attainder was hurried through the House of Lords; and on the 19th of June, nine days after his arrest, Cromwell received his doom as a manifold traitor and detestable heretic.*

But before he was executed, Anne of Cleves was divorced, and the king was united in the holy bands of matrimony with Catherine Howard. On the 25th of June Anne was ordered to remove to Richmond, being told that that place would be more suitable to her health and pleasure than London. Then the king gave directions to his bishops and ministers to legalise his separation from Anne of Cleves; and the bishops and ministers acted accordingly. It was instantly discovered that there had once been a formal contract of marriage between Anne and the son of the Duke of Lorraine; and this,

* Le Grand.—Strype.—Burnet.—Herbert.—Journals.

with Henry's assertion that the marriage had never been consummated, was deemed quite sufficient ground. Parliament met and humbly implored his majesty to investigate the subject. The case was submitted to a convocation of the clergy, and on the 9th of July it was unanimously decided by the churchmen of all colours that the marriage was null and void, inasmuch as the king had married the princess "without the inward consent of his own mind," and as there had been a precontract between her and another person. Poor Anne, who had the dread of the block before her eyes, and who was a person of more discretion than pride or passion, most quietly submitted to her fate,* and two days after, being properly prompted and assisted (for she could write no English), she addressed a letter to his most excellent majesty wherein she declared that she was not and never had been his wife. "Yet it will please you," she continued, "to take me for one of your most humble servants, and so to determine of me, as I may sometimes have the fruition of your most noble presence, which, as I shall esteem for a great benefit, so my lords, and others of your majesty's council, now being with me, *have put me in comfort thereof, and that your highness will take me for your sister*, for the which I most humbly thank you accordingly. Thus, most gracious prince, I beseech our Lord God to send your majesty long life and good health, to God's glory, your own honour, and the wealth of this noble realm."†

On the very next day Henry commissioned the Duke

* In his dispatches of the 31st of July, 11th of August, and 3rd of September, Marillac writes—"Anne makes no opposition whatever to the divorce, at which the king is the more pleased, because, as it is said, his new favourite (amourette) is already with child. The former is now called merely Madame Anne of Cleves. She is anything but low spirited, —amuses herself in all possible ways, and dresses every day in new clothes, made in a strange fashion." The reported pregnancy of Catherine seems to have been merely a bit of court or city scandal.

† State Papers.

of Suffolk to go to the Lady Anne at Richmond, and "considering she be now come to her strength, and in good temper of body," to press her further to write to her brother the Duke of Cleves, in order to express her perfect concurrence in all that had been done.* Anne, too wise to resist, and in all probability but too happy to escape out of the lion's jaws, did everything that was required of her. On the 16th of July she wrote the most submissive of letters to the most excellent and noble prince, her most benign and good *brother* Henry, subscribing herself, as had been agreed, his majesty's humble sister and servant.† The obsequious parliament finished its part of the work‡ by voting that it would be very lawful for the king to take another wife. A private marriage was performed, and some days after, on the 8th of August, Catherine Howard was publicly shown as queen.§ On the same day, or nearly on the same day, that Henry took to himself his fifth wife, he sent his minister Cromwell to the block. On the 28th of July Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill; and it is said that he died professing the Catholic faith, by which he might mean that kind of faith which had been established by the last act of parliament. When he was dead, many of his virtues were remembered; and the people particularly called to mind that, twice a-day, two hundred poor persons had been fed at his gate. Dr. Barnes, a great preacher and leader of the Protestant party, survived his patron Cromwell only three days, "being committed to the torments of the merciless fire," and burnt alive, with Garret and Jerome, as a heretic. But, that the scales might be nicely trimmed, Powell, Abel, and Feather-

* From some expressions in this letter and elsewhere, it might appear that Anne had taken the matter more seriously to heart than is generally stated, and that she was, or had been, ill. Perhaps it was considered decorous that she should feign a sickness!

† State Papers.

‡ The lords implored him, out of his love of his people, to marry again!

§ State Papers.—Journals.—Herbert.—Stow.—Godwin.

ston were hanged and quartered at the same time for denying the king's supremacy. On this occasion, as on some others, they were coupled together, a Catholic with a Protestant, on the same hurdle, and so drawn to Smithfield to the horror of both sects. A Frenchman is said to have exclaimed, "Good God, how do people make a shift to live here, where Papists are hanged and Anti-Papists are burnt!" In the next month the Prior of Doncaster and six others were hanged for defending the institution of the monastic life, a crime now become as capital as the greatest.*

A.D. 1541.—There was a feeble attempt made in Yorkshire to revive the Pilgrimage of Grace; but it was easily suppressed, and cost the lives of fourteen gentlemen. In the month of August the king made a progress into the northern counties, taking with him his young wife, whom he "entirely loved," after more than a year of matrimony. He had, indeed, repeatedly declared that he had never been happy in love or marriage till now, and that the Lady Catherine was the most perfect of women, and most affectionate of wives. Nay, he had even gone so far in his gratitude as to make one of his bishops unite with him in praising the Lord for the great contentment he had found. But, on his return from his progress, Cranmer had a tale for his ear which struck him dumb, and it is said even drew tears in torrents from his eyes. The archbishop declared that the queen, before her marriage, had led an abandoned life with Francis Dereham, or Deram, a relation of her own, who had associated with her when she lived with her great aunt, the Dowager-Duchess of Norfolk. Cranmer, who had consulted with the Chancellor Audley, the Earl of Hertford, and others of the Protestant party, had not undertaken to present this dangerous accusation without proof; *and his witness was a servant of the old Duchess of Norfolk.* The king's faith in the virtue of his wife was annihilated in a moment; but, wishing to proceed cautiously, he arrested all the persons who had been named

* Stow.—Strype.—Godwin.

as the queen's confidants and accomplices, and made them undergo, *in secret*, "a keen examination." Their servants, both men and women, were arrested also, and put to the torture.* Under these circumstances it was impossible to fail in procuring confessions against the queen; but it appears that these torture-compelled confessions merely went to show that Catherine had been incontinent before marriage; and this did not amount to treason. Francis Dereham is generally said to have confessed that he had been guilty with her; but the queen denied the charge altogether, and, from the best evidence† we possess, it seems doubtful whether Dereham confessed anything of the kind. That same night, however, she is said to have signed a written confession of her youthful irregularities, but of nothing more. Cranmer undertook the office of making her disclose more, and admit that there had been a precontract of marriage between her and her kinsman and alleged seducer Francis Dereham, which, in itself, according to Henry's jurisprudence, would annul the marriage, while it might also be considered as a saving of the king's honour—seeing that, by such precontract, and such law, there could have been no marriage at any time, and Catherine must sink into the condition of a concubine, not having ever had the character of the king's wife. We have before us a letter to the king, which will not raise Cranmer in the estimation of the world. The archbishop begins by describing Catherine's wretched condition. He then tells the king that he had delivered to her his grace's *promise of mercy*; upon which she held up her hands and gave most humble thanks; and, for a time, she recovered from the phrenzy in which he had found her, and began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept;

* We derive this fact, which is not mentioned by historians, from a passage in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, signed by Cranmer, Audley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and others:—"And because Damport confesseth this now, which he would not do for any torture that he could before be put to," &c. &c.

† State Papers.

but, after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new phrenzy worse than before. "Now," continues the prelate, "I do use her thus: when I do see her in any such extreme frights, I do travail with her to know the cause, and then, as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or, at the least, to mitigate the cause; and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new phantasy come into her head, which I desired her to open unto me. 'Alas! my lord,' she cried, 'that I am alive! The fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness—for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy showed unto me at this time maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before.'" After this, Cranmer goes on to tell the king, that, by degrees, the distracted woman had come to herself: that she was meetly well unto night, and that he had had "very good communication with her," and, as he thought, had brought her into "a great quietness." He discloses all that he had been able to get out of her concerning any contract of matrimony with Dereham, which, he says, *although it did not go so far as he thought it would have done*, yet appeared to him sufficient to establish the contract.* After Cranmer had thus worked upon the unfortunate young woman in her phrenzy, and, on the promise of the king's mercy, had induced her to confess improper conduct with Dereham before her marriage (and nothing more), the king changed his plan. A few days after, the council, consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown, Wingfield, and Sadler, addressed a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had taken upon himself the principal conduct of this wretched business. The minuteness of detail—the petty and innumerable regulations that appear in every part of the transaction—fill the mind with a disgust against all engaged in it, accessories as well as principal.

* State Papers.

In the king's name they tell Cranmer that he must with convenient diligence remove the queen to the house of Sion, there to remain "till the matter be further ordered, in the state of a queen, but furnished moderately, as her life and condition hath deserved—that is to say, with the furniture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate." Mr. Baynton, her gaoler, is to sleep in one of the three rooms; they are to dine in another; and the queen and her attendants are to sleep in a third. They send a book or list of servants to wait upon the queen; but the king's highness trusts to the archbishop's discretion in not exceeding a necessary number. It is also the king's highness's pleasure that my Lady Baynton,* the wife of her gaoler, shall be one of those to attend upon the queen, and shall have the rule and government of the whole house. My Lady Mary, the king's daughter, who had led a most stormy life with her father's wives, was to be removed. But after these and other minutiæ the council proceed to the pith of the business. "And where the king's highness, weighing deeply all circumstances of the matter, hath, by mature consideration, been determined, that to-morrow (12th November) my Lord Chancellor, assembling his majesty's councillors of all sorts, spiritual and temporal, with the judges and learned men, should declare unto them the abominable demeanour of the queen, without calling Dereham,† as was before thought good, and *without speaking or mentioning any precontract of marriage, which might serve for her defence*, but only to open and make manifest the king's highness's just cause of indignation and displeasure, so as the world may know and see that which is hitherto done to have a just ground and foundation; .... the king's majesty also willeth, that those among you that know the whole

* Both Baynton and his wife had done duty for the king, in the case of Anne Boleyn. They were practised hands in queen killing.

† This seems to prove that, up to this moment at least, Dereham had not confessed.

matter, and how it was first detected, as also the king's majesty's sorrowful behaviour, and careful proceeding in it, should, upon Sunday next, assemble all the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, and declare unto them the whole process of the matter; foreseeing always that you *make not mention of any precontract;* but, omitting that, to set forth such matter as might impair and confound their misdemeanor, and as truth doth, indeed, truly bear, declare, and set forth the king's majesty's goodness, most unworthy to be troubled with any such mischance." *

The accusations against Catherine Howard were now brought to bear upon misconduct after marriage, in order that her guilt might amount to treason: for Henry seems no longer to have cared about that partial saving of his honour, which might have resulted from the contrary course. It was alleged that not only had Dereham been recalled from Ireland to court, since her marriage, but that Culpepper, one night when the court was at Lincoln, had stayed in the same room with her and the Lady Rochford for three hours. This Lady Rochford was the infamous woman that had borne testimony against her own husband and her husband's sister, Anne Boleyn. Culpepper was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and probably a near relation of Catherine Howard, whose mother's name was Culpepper. A day or two after Sadler informs his grace of Canterbury and Mr. Comptroller, that the queen has been examined on the matter now come forth concerning Culpepper; but he adds, that she hath not, as appeareth by her confession, so fully declared the circumstances of what passed betwixt her and Culpepper as his majesty could wish; "and so his majesty would have his grace (Cranmer) once again essay and test to get something of her." Mr. Secretary Sadler next tells the Archbishop of Canterbury that my Lord Chancellor Audley has declared the case in the Star Chamber, *omitting and leaving out as much as in anywise toucheth the precontract;* and that he also has read divers of the depositions of such persons as had been ex-

* State Papers.

amined, as well men as women, *always omitting as much as touched the precontract:* "and, in the end of his tale," saith Sadler, "he added, that there was an appearance of great abomination in her, which he (the chancellor) *left so in a cloud as it should seem doubtful to the hearers whether all were come out or not:* and the king's majesty would have you (Cranmer) follow this order without your mentioning anything of Culpepper or the precontract."* When this business had been in progress about a month the king ordered that the old Duchess-Dowager of Norfolk, her daughter Lady Bridgewater, one of her sons (the Lord William Howard), and other persons of rank, should be arrested upon suspicion of being privy to the queen's irregularities, and that their houses should be taken possession of and diligently searched. The Earl of Southampton took the old duchess into custody, and conveyed her to the house of the lord chancellor. Here, according to the earl's letter, "she began to be very sick, even at the heart, as she said; which was the sickness of mistrust." The noble lord also reports that he has got one Pewson, a servant of the duchess, with whom he has "somewhat travailed this day, in order to make him confess; but, marry, he is yet stiff." †

The government was now divided into two councils, one of which removed with the king wherever he went; the other, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, remained in London, in search of evidence. The attention of both councils seems to have been entirely absorbed by this one business. The champion of the Catholic faith moved about with the champion of the Reformation. Stephen Gardiner was associated with Thomas Cranmer, and his name appears to nearly all the letters inculpating his former friend and *protégée* Catherine Howard. On the 6th of December they reported to the king that they had met with some success in the questioning of Ashby, another man-servant of the Duchess-Dowager of Norfolk, who, being in the custody

* State Papers. † Ibid.

of Sir Richard Rich, the chancellor of the augmentation,* had written, by commandment, three or four leaves of paper. Among many long tales of small importance, Ashby had confessed that, upon hearing what had happened at court, the duchess had broken open Dereham's coffers and a portmanteau, and had taken out of them all the letters and writings, and had carried them to her chamber, saying that she would peruse them herself at leisure, without suffering anybody to see them with her. Ashby said, also, that the duchess had been in great fear about one Alice Wilkes, a serving-woman, who was supposed to know something of a familiarity between the young Catherine Howard and Dereham. This Alice Wilkes they had safe, and would examine her closely, trusting to find out some pithy matter. They reported, also, that they had learned that Damport's, or Dammock's, coffers had been broken open in the Duchess of Norfolk's house, and the papers removed; that this Damport, who had hitherto been "very stiff, confessing nothing for any torture they had used," had at last become pliable and communicative, saying, that he once heard Dereham say at the time when the king's majesty was beginning to court Catherine Howard, "I could be sure of mistress Catherine an I would, but I dare not. The king beginneth to love her; but, an he were dead, I am sure I might marry her."—[To be extracted by torture, this was a small revelation.]—Afterwards, according to the same letter, Damport confessed that Dereham told him that the Duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman in the queen's chamber, when he, Dereham, was present, pointing to him—"This is he that came out of Ireland for the queen's sake." The council with the king, in reply, state to the council in London, that the king thinks the duchess's breaking open of the coffers of Dereham a very clear proof of an intention to conceal treason; and that if the judges do impartially weigh this act, and the concealment of the papers by the

* Most of the witnesses and prisoners were thus kept locked up in the houses of the king's slavish and unscrupulous ministers.

duchess, they must be led to conclude that she knew of the former naughty life betwixt the queen and Dereham; and that his coming again to the queen's service from Ireland was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life; and that all this was clear treason. His highness would have the judges answer this, *his* opinion, and satisfy him with reason. The judges, it appears, had already condemned Dereham; for, in continuation, the council state that his highness thinketh it expedient that they spare the execution of Dereham for a time, till the bottom of this matter shall appear, it being likely that new matter will arise daily upon which they might have cause to examine him. In the same letter Mr. Pollard, that expert investigator, is commanded to examine the duchess's women, in order to find out whether she did of late burn any letters or writings. The council in London presently rejoined that they had "travailled another whole day in the examination of the duchess," who made herself so clear from all knowledge of the abomination between the queen and Dereham, that she would confess no mistrust or suspicion of their love or unseemly familiarity; and as to the coffers, she said she intended only to see what was in them, and finding anything material (which she said she did not), to send the same to the king's majesty. They go on to say that, having with them the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Pollard, they had all come to the conclusion that the things proved against my Lady Norfolk and her son Lord William, "with all presumptions and circumstances," will extend to misprision of treason; and also that the Lady William Howard, the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, Catherine Tilney, Damport, Walgrave, Malin Tilney, Mary Lascelles, Bulmer, Ashby, Anne Howard, and Margaret Burnet, be in the same case, "if it shall please his majesty to proceed against them." *

At a very early stage of these proceedings there was an anxiety betrayed as to the goods and chattels of the accused. Cranmer and his friends, in the same letter,

* State Papers.

desire to know how his grace would have my Lady of Norfolk and the rest used, and also whether they should commit the Lord William and his wife; "and how their things shall be used, which shall, by this offence, be all confiscate to his majesty, as in case of treason, and also the profit of their lands for the term of their lives, their bodies being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; *the example whereof would be very notable if his majesty would proceed against them all.*" On the morrow they proposed to meet at the house of the lord privy seal, the Earl of Southampton, there to examine the duchess's daughter, Lady Bridgewater, who would be brought thither secretly; and they hoped, "with travail and labour, to find out the bottom of the plot, according to their bounden duties." In a frightful postscript they say that they think they have already all that can be got out of Dereham, who, by no force, can be made to confess more; and, therefore, they would be glad to know his majesty's pleasure touching the execution of him and Culpepper. They were not kept long waiting for their instructions. They were ordered to commit the Duchess of Norfolk, the Lord William Howard and his wife, the Lady Bridgewater, and all others noted in their letters, to the Tower, and to send forthwith "some substantial personages" to take charge of their houses, and to see their goods put into safe custody for his majesty's behoof; in which particular part, his majesty joining with their opinions, *thinketh that the example will be very notable.* Nevertheless, as this matter came first to light by Mary Lascelles, the servant-girl, and as Mary Lascelles had refused the queen's service,* and had seemed to be sorry and lament that the king had married Catherine Howard, his majesty thought it best to spare the said Mary without troubling or committing her; *thinking, also, that this may be a means to give courage and boldness to others to reveal things in like cases.*" Touching Culpepper and Dereham, they were commanded to proceed to their ex-

* Query.—Had not this Mary Lascelles *been* refused a service *by* the queen?

ecution, after convenient warning, that they might prepare for the salvation of their souls. On the 10th of December Dereham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn, where Dereham was hanged and quartered, and Culpepper beheaded By the 13th of the same month the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard her son, and the rest of her relations and servants, were shut up in the Tower, which was so full already that there was great difficulty in finding room for them.* By his majesty's orders, *Mary Lascelles was clearly left out of the indictment, his majesty considering if she should be indicted with the rest how slanderous it should be to her!* The council in London "travailled" very diligently in forcing confessions from the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, and Bulmer; "but as for Bridgewater," they write, "she showeth herself her mother's daughter,—that is, one that will by no means confess anything."

The council in London were startled at this moment by the loud expressions of public opinion in France, and proposed that his majesty should permit some explanation in order to stop men's tongues. At the same moment, while the fate of Catherine Howard was undecided, the Duke of Cleves, losing no time, proposed to Henry that he should take back to wife his sister Anne! Ambassadors arrived in England with letters from Oslynger, the vice-chancellor of Cleves, to Cranmer and to the Earl of Southampton.† Cranmer, who was in an agony of alarm lest he should be suspected of the heinous offence of aiding in giving the king back an unpleasant helpmate, wrote

* On the 11th of December, two days after her committal to the Tower, Cranmer, Audley, Suffolk, Gardiner, and the rest of the council in London, inform the king that they have again been "travailling" with the duchess, "both to make her confess the things testified against her, and also to cough out the rest, not yet discovered, if any such dregs remain among them." They seem scarcely to have allowed the infirm old woman a moment's rest. Such was the treatment that Henry reserved for the widow of the hero of Flodden Field!

† State Papers

a base, flattering letter to his royal master, and refused to have any communication with the Cleves ambassadors, "unless it please the king's majesty to command him." Of course nothing came of this delicate embassy, and the Duke of Cleves was again obliged to consent that Anne should be called the sister, not the wife, of his majesty of England.*

The affair of Catherine Howard, which had brought the ambassador of Cleves into England, now proceeded rapidly, and with a baseness on the part of all concerned which almost staggers belief.† No man had the spirit to recommend a more legal way of proceeding; none durst open their lips in favour of any of the accused; the nearest of blood to them sought favour with the court by crying for their condemnation. No humiliation was too vile for the loftiest aristocracy of the land. A day or two after their committal to the Tower the Duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, telling him that he had learned that his ungracious mother-in-law, his unhappy brother and wife, and his *lewd* sister of Bridgewater, are in the Tower, which, he says, from his long experience of his majesty's equity and justice, he feels sure is not done but for false and traitorous proceedings. This mighty lord had urged on the ruin of his niece Anne Boleyn, and had presided at her trial; but Anne and he were enemies, and opposed in matters of religion; whereas, in the present case, there was no enmity and no conflicting views as to dogmas of faith. He, however, condemned his other niece, Catherine Howard, just as he had condemned Anne; and he lamented very pathetically, "the most abominable deeds done by two of his nieces against his highness," which, he adds, hath brought him into the greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in; fearing that his majesty, having so often and by so many of his

* State Papers.

† There are sundry points which we would not venture to assert on any authority less positive than the *State Papers*, where we find the king's own letters and orders, Cranmer's letters, Norfolk's letters, the letters of the council, written at the moment, &c. &c.

kin, been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in his heart against him, and all others of that kin, but also, in manner, abhor to hear speak of any of the name. "Wherefore," continues this noble Howard, "my most gracious sovereign lord! prostrate at your feet, most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light *by my declaration to your majesty*, according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Dereham's coffers, without the which I think she had not been further examined, nor, consequently, her ungracious children."*

Meanwhile they still "travailled" to force confessions from the prisoners in the Tower, and *to make them reveal their hidden treasures*. On the 21st of December, Southampton and Wriothesley informed their assured, loving friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, that they had been with the Duchess of Norfolk, whom they found "on her bed, as it appeared very sickly." They had pressed her hard, and had also promised her pardon of her life if she would make them "her ghostly fathers" and confess the intimacy before marriage between the queen and Dereham; but still this high-minded woman, sick and worn as she was, resisted alike their threats and their promises. Taking God to witness, she protested "that she had never thought them (Catherine and Dereham) to be of that abominable sort; nevertheless she would not deny that she had perceived a light love and favour to be between them, more than between indifferent persons; and that she had heard that Dereham would sundry times give Catherine money, which she thought proceeded upon the affection that groweth of kindred, the same Dereham being her kinsman." According to her examiners, she avowed that it was very sinful in her not to tell his majesty this before his marriage. "After we had done this degree," they continue, with all the coolness of practised hands, "we went to the second, that is, for her

* State Papers.

hidden money, plate or jewels; and, without any denial, she confessed that she had hidden, in another place in her house, 700*l.* or 800*l.*, giving us such tokens as we might easily find it, which I, Thomas Wriothesley, with Mr. Attorney, Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Bristow, this morning found, being 800*l.*, and have safe bestowed it at Westminster.* In the end these active agents told the old lady that her life would be spared; upon which she hoped that his majesty would give her something to live upon, and not take away her house at Lambeth, for she had not long to live. Lord William Howard was also "wonderfully troubled and out of all quiet;" and not without reason, for they had been travailling with his menial servants, and were about separating him from his wife, not considering it expedient to arraign them together, so as to bring man and wife to the bar in company. Two days after, the Lord William Howard, his wife, Malin Tilney, Elizabeth Tilney, and three other women, among whom was Margaret Burnet, a butter wife, and Bulmer, Ashby, and Damport, men-servants to the old Duchess of Norfolk, were tried separately,† on a charge of misprision of treason, before a trembling jury, the duchess herself being omitted, for good reasons. According to the report of the council in London,‡ Lord

* It is quite clear that the court was greatly in need of these gleanings of violence and iniquity. In the same letter is the following passage:—"Furthermore there is now at Westminster, five thousand marks in money, and a thousand pounds worth of plate, which came from Lambeth (the Duchess of Norfolk's house). I, Thomas Wriothesley, would beseech the king's majesty that it might be delivered to some such hands as his majesty will appoint, or brought unto him to Greenwich. *Methinks I should sleep the better an it were once delivered.*"—*State Papers.*

† They seem to have been tried in separate parties of twos or threes. Lord William, for example, was brought to the bar with Damport, and not with his own wife.

‡ This letter relating the trial is signed by Suffolk, Southampton, Sussex, Hertford, Gage, Wriothesley, and Rich, but bears the signature neither of Cranmer nor of Gardiner.

William pleaded not guilty; but seeing that this course would not serve him, he confessed to the indictment, or threw himself upon the king's mercy. The result of what they, the council, called their "day's work" was to condemn all the prisoners to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and sequestration of their estates during their lives; and yet nothing was even pretended to be proved against them except that they had been privy to the loves of Catherine Howard and Dereham previous to the marriage.

A.D. 1542.—We here lose the sure guides which we have been for some time following through obscure paths that were closed to former historians.* It appears that men had been long aware that nothing but the blood of Catherine Howard would satisfy the king, and that the promise of life conveyed to her by Cranmer, from his majesty, would not be allowed the weight of a feather. A new parliament was summoned, and on the 16th of January the Lords and Commons, by petition, implored his gracious majesty that he would not vex himself with the queen's misconduct, but allow the two Houses to pass a bill of attainder, to which he might give his assent by letters patent, without suffering the pain of hearing them rehearse the offences of his wife. The king was pleased to grant this, their humble petition, and to thank them for their making his griefs their own. The bill was carried through the Lords in three, and through the Commons in two days; and on Saturday, the 11th of February, the Chancellor Audley produced the bill in the Lords, signed by the king, and with the great seal appended to it; and then, all the lords being in their robes, and the Commons being summoned, the act was read, and, at the same time, a paper purporting to be the queen's confession. In this paper, which appears to have been studiously withheld till the last moment, the unfortunate Catherine was made to acknowledge that she had offended against God, the king, and the nation; to

* In the volume of the State Papers there is a great gap from the 22nd of December, 1541, to the 1st of May, 1542.

express a hope that her sins would not be visited on the head of her brothers and her family; and to implore, as a last grace, permission to divide part of her clothes among her faithful female servants. A confession like this was very vague; and, supposing it to have been really and sincerely made by the victim, it might, after all, only refer to offences before the marriage. Lady Rochford was attainted by parliament at the same time; and two days after, both ladies were beheaded within the walls of the Tower. Upon the scaffold Catherine confessed that she had once led a sinful life, but protested, by her hope of salvation, that she had never been untrue to the king since she had been his wife. The Lady Rochford also died very penitent and meek, and was supposed to have made a blessed end.

The Protestants were as ready to believe in the guilt of the Papist Catherine Howard, as the Papists had been to believe in the guilt of the Protestant Anne Boleyn. Since the triumph and firm establishment of the reformed doctrines, sympathy and admiration have been incessantly demanded for the unfortunate mother of Queen Elizabeth, but no Protestant tears have been shed for the still more hapless Catherine Howard. Yet an attentive examination of documents, contemporary histories, and traditions, will convince every impartial mind that the frailties and guilt of Catherine were no more substantiated and proved than were the guilt and frailties of Anne, and that, in the case of both ladies, the tyrant and his slaves bade defiance to all law and justice. A living and distinguished Roman Catholic historian turns Anne Boleyn into a wanton, and Catherine into an innocent martyr. Alas! for the slow progress of truth and impartiality! Are these and other historical subjects of still greater weight always to be treated of with the same angry passions and the same wilful blindness to evidence? Is prejudice to hold for ever the scales? Must every history continue to be one-sided?

It was enacted in the bill of attainder against Catherine Howard, that every woman about to be married to the king, or to any of his successors, should, if she were not

a virgin, disclose that fact beforehand, under penalty of treason; that all other persons cognizant of it, and not divulging it in the proper quarter, should be subject to the penalty of misprision of treason; and that the queen that should move any person to commit adultery with her should suffer as a traitor.

As Henry might deny the virtue of the chastest maid, if he became tired of her, and as he had provided a law to put her to death, people, who could joke in the midst of these deeds of blood, said that nobody ought to marry him but a widow. But for nearly eighteen months the king seemed to think of marrying no one—devoting his time and attention to divinity and politics. Although he adhered with wonderful firmness to transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the celibacy of the clergy, his mind was not made up as to various fractional parts which he had actually adopted of the Reformation; and while he vehemently condemned the vacillation of his subjects in matters of faith, he was himself wavering on these particular points.

As early as 1536 certain articles were set forth by the convocation of the clergy, which had for their title, 'Articles devised by the King's Highness's Majesty to stablish Christian Quietness.' In 1537, just after the publication of the whole Bible in English, there appeared the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' or the 'Bishops' Book,' as it was called, after its authors, who had worked under the eye of his majesty. In 1543 Henry ordered the publication of another work, entitled 'A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian Man.' This book, which was called the 'King's Book,' differed materially from the 'Bishops' Book,' which only six years before had been given to the world as an unchangeable standard of faith and practice; thus affording a glaring proof that the king's own mind was not settled. The 'King's Book' did not lean so much towards the doctrines of the Reformation as the 'Bishops' Book.' It established that, for those "whose office it was to teach others, the reading and studying of holy scripture was not only convenient, but also necessary; but for the other part of the

church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed, certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament was not so necessary for all those."* And soon after it was enacted in parliament, that the Bible should not be read in public; that it should not be read aloud in any private families except such as were of noble or gentle degree; that it should not be read privately to one's self except by men who were householders, and by females who were well born. By any other women, or any artificer, apprentice, journeyman, servant, or labourer, the opening of the book was unlawful, and an offence to be punished by one month's imprisonment! Cranmer and *all* the bishops, whether Papists or Protestants, or half-and-half, concurred in these regulations, and parliament authorised the king to make whatever alterations *he* might deem proper. The fury of persecution was, however, now somewhat allayed. Probably from seeing the indiscriminate executions done upon the two sects, the Papists thought it unwise to inform against the Protestants, the Protestants deemed it prudent to be silent as to the Papists with their breaches of the oath of supremacy; and, during the four years which closed this reign, it is said, that *only* twenty-four persons were put to death for religion—fourteen of them being Protestants, who were burned; ten Papists and recusants on the subject of the supremacy, who were hanged.†

In politics Henry was scarcely more moderate than in religion. The wisest of his measures had been adopted as early as 1536, when it was enacted that the whole of Wales should be united with the realm of England, and be governed by the same laws. Up to this period the principality had been in an anomalous state, from which, without any particular benefits to the Welsh people, there flowed many serious evils to the English. It had been divided into two parts, one of which was governed by English laws, and the other subdivided into feuds or independent lordships, which acknowledged no laws

* Preface to the book itself.

† Strype, Mem. of Cranmer.—Blunt, Hist. Reform

or customs save their own, and were amenable only to their several feudal chiefs. Hence it happened that all criminals who could escape across the English lines, could procure, by favour or purchase, the protection of some petty sovereignty, and bid defiance to English law. The little lordships—141 in number—were frequently engaged in hostilities with one another, like the baronies of the middle ages. It was now, of course, provided that no lord should have the power of protecting or pardoning any criminal; and it was also established that the Welsh shires, with one borough in each, should return members to the English parliament. The most important of the regulations made for Wales were extended to the independent county palatine of Chester, which had, up to this time, been another anomaly in the political system.

The transactions in Ireland, which have been recently illustrated by a mass of the most curious and minute information,* would form a large chapter of themselves, but we can only touch briefly on the chief events. Soon after the recal of the Earl of Surrey (in 1522) the Earl of Kildare was invested, for the third time, with the high office of lord-deputy. The factions of her great lords were the curse of Ireland, keeping her disunited, weak, and poor. The Butlers, under their chief, the Earl of Ormond, or Ossory, had entertained for ages an inveterate feud with the Fitzgeralds, of whom the Earl of Kildare was chief. Their complaints induced the suspicious Henry to recal the lord-deputy to England, and to commit him to the Tower on the usual charge of treason. The Earl of Kildare had been in the Tower before, and had then had a narrow escape from the block. On his present departure from Ireland (in 1533) the chief power fell into the hands of his son, the Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a brave and generous young man,

* Published by the Record Commission. It fills vols. ii. and iii. of the important *State Papers*, to which we have so frequently referred, and which, indeed, have been our most valuable guides through this reign.

in his twenty-first year, who was soon deceived by a report, purposely circulated, that his father had now been beheaded in reality. He flew to arms, and bade defiance to the King of England. He had then five uncles, brothers to his father, three of whom, at first, dissuaded him from these extreme proceedings; but the passion of vengeance excluded reason, and at length they associated themselves with their nephew Thomas, and were all involved in the same ruin. At first many of the Irish flocked to their standard, and the minstrels, in wild strains, sang the sacred duty of revenge, and inflamed them to fury. They surprised Allen, the archbishop of Dublin, who was supposed to be one of the accusers of the Earl of Kildare, and they murdered him in presence of the earl's son and brothers. They sent an agent to the Emperor Charles, then irritated by the recent divorcing of his aunt Catherine; and they opened communications with Rome, offering, upon conditions, to prevent Henry, or any of the English, from carrying their church reforms into Ireland. But they were repulsed by the citizens of Dublin, who entertained different notions; they were assailed by the whole power of the rival faction of the Butlers, and were compelled to retreat in want and disorder into the wilds of Munster and Connaught. "The poor earl (the prisoner in the Tower), already afflicted with a palsy, was so stricken to the heart with the news of this tumult, that he survived but a few days the knowledge of his unhappiness."* Sir William Skeffington, the newly appointed lord-deputy, took the field with a numerous army of regular troops; and in the month of August, 1535, Lord Leonard Gray, son of the Marquess of Dorset, arrived in Ireland, and put himself at the head of other forces, which went in pursuit of Lord Thomas. This Lord Leonard bribed some of the rebels, who agreed to betray their leader. As Henry sent little or no money to his troops, they lived at large upon the unhappy country, plundering first, and burning and destroying afterwards,

* Godwin.

wherever they went. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald was soon reduced to such straits that he offered to surrender upon terms. It appears pretty certain that Gray promised him a full pardon, for he voluntarily surrendered, and was not taken in arms: but Skeffington gave a different account of the matter in a letter which still exists. He told the king that O'Connor, perceiving that there were "no ways else but his utter destruction and banishment, came in and yielded himself;" and that the "traitor Thomas Fitzgerald, with divers others his accomplices, considering that he could not be succoured by the said O'Connor, and that his band and strength were by policy allured from him, had in like manner submitted and yielded himself to his highness' mercy and pity, without condition either of pardon, life, lands, or goods, but wholly submitting himself to his grace; so that his desire was, now that he was brought to uttermost extremity, to be conducted to his highness by the Lord Leonard Gray." * O'Connor had been too wise to surrender in person,—he only delivered certain hostages as security for his good behaviour; but his ally, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, was forthwith carried over to England by the Lord Leonard Gray, and committed to the Tower. Gray soon returned to Ireland, where he was named marshal, and appointed to the command of the whole army. One of his main objects was to secure the persons of the five uncles of Thomas Fitzgerald, who were still at large. On the 14th of February, of the following year (1536), the council of Ireland, with great glee, informed Cromwell that "the five brethren" had been apprehended by the Lord Leonard, the chief justice, and others; which, in their opinion, was the best deed that ever was done for the weal of the king's poor subjects of that land. They did well to avoid particulars; for, by "the politic and secret managing of this matter," was to be understood, that Lord Leonard Gray and the others, in defiance of the sacred rights of hospitality, had treacherously seized the five Fitz-

* State Papers.

geralds at a banquet! After a long and cruel imprisonment in the Tower they were all beheaded, with their nephew, the young earl, in the month of February, 1537. Their betrayer, the Lord Leonard Gray, though, as a reward, he was promoted to be lord-lieutenant or deputy, did not long survive them: on charges and suspicions he was committed to one of the cells they had occupied, and on the 28th of June, 1541, he was beheaded as a traitor on Tower Hill; where, it is said, he ended his life very quietly and godlily.*

Of the ancient and powerful family of the Fitzgeralds there remained but one, a boy twelve years old, named Gerald, the younger brother of the Lord Thomas. According to one account he was seized and conveyed to the Tower, and afterwards escaped from that state prison. There is, however, a better ground for believing that the young Fitzgerald was never brought to the Tower at all, but that he was secretly carried out of Ireland into France by a sea-captain or merchant that dwelt at St. Malo, and who chanced "to be with his ship on merchandise in Ireland," where certain monks entreated him to take charge of the noble boy.† The remainder of his history is as authentic as it is romantic. Driven from France at the desire of Henry, who claimed the fulfilment of the old treaty, by which neither power should give refuge to the enemies of the other, the boy sought an asylum in Flanders. There he soon found himself in no less danger than before; upon which he fled into Italy, and implored the protection of his kinsman, Reginald Pole, who received and maintained him very nobly. Under the care of the cardinal the young Irish fugitive received a good education at Rome; and at length, in the reign of Mary, by means of the same protector, he was restored to his country, and to the honours and estates of his ancestors the Earls of Kildare.

The Fitzgeralds had derived a large portion of that power with which they made themselves formidable to the English government by setting themselves against

* State Papers.—Stow.—Godwin. † State Papers.

the innovations in the church, and declaring themselves the champions of the old religion. Upon their arrest, Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, prolonged the opposition to Henry on the same grounds, being generally supported by the native Irish, who had no hope whatever of sharing in the spoils of the abbeys and monasteries, and as generally opposed by the Anglo-Irish nobility, who had good expectations of enriching themselves, as their brethren in England had done, by the processes of suppression and confiscation. If matters had been carried with a high hand in England, we may be sure that the government was not very observant of law and constitutional right in Ireland. By a stretch of authority the whole body of the Irish clergy was excluded from the Irish parliament, in which they had hitherto voted by their proctors; and then statutes were passed abolishing the authority of the pope for ever, declaring Henry supreme head of the Irish church, and giving to him the first-fruits and tenths and all the estates of the suppressed monasteries. Fierce, personal quarrels raged incessantly among the men intrusted with the government; all the functionaries had their feuds and differences, arising out of conflicting religious beliefs, and still more out of jealousy as to the apportioning of the confiscated lands; and it seems to have been the practice of nearly every one of them to play the informer, and to intrigue with the English court for the destruction of his associates. They could never agree as to the proper mode of treating the native Irish, though it is evident that the notion more generally adopted was, that they were to be treated without mercy, for we find continual complaints of there being overmuch favour shown to the Irishry. O'Connor was soon again in arms; and a still more formidable enemy to the English, or to the new system of church government, rose up in the person of O'Neil, the great chieftain of the north. The royal troops, and the Irish kernes acting with them, fell upon O'Neil's country, and plundered and burnt it for six whole days. The *plundering* evidently retarded the operations of the war, which was

allowed to linger on for nearly three years; nor was the pacification of the country promoted by a constant breach of faith on the part of the government.

The foreign enemies of Henry were not slow in perceiving his weak point. The Scots occasionally succoured and encouraged the Irish insurgents; and the king was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports of armaments, from Spain or from France, being in Bantry Bay. It was not to be expected that the English would have all the plundering and burning to themselves; in the vicissitudes of war they were often the victims of the same practices. In 1540, soon after the recal of Lord Leonard Gray, O'Connor invaded Kildare, burning every village and every town that he could take; O'Neil fell upon Dundalk; M'Mordo and the O'Tholes moved on another line; and the English pale was visited in its whole length by fire and sword. But in the end of the year O'Connor submitted upon promise of being made a baron, and after a sanguinary victory gained over the kernes, a certain degree of tranquillity was restored.

Hitherto Ireland had been but a lordship; in 1541 Henry resolved to elevate it to the rank of a kingdom. At the same time he adopted the policy of attaching some of the most powerful of the native chiefs, and also such of the great Anglo-Irish proprietors as had not already been ennobled, by admitting them to the honours of the peerage. The allurement thus held out was run after with wonderful eagerness by both. The De Burghs, the O'Briens, the O'Neils, the O'Tholes, the Cavanahs, and the rest were all ready to make a sacrifice of independence for the title and privileges of peers. They consented to hold their lands of the crown by the tenure of military service; they swore fealty to Henry; and they accepted from him houses in Dublin, which they were to inhabit when summoned as peers to the Irish parliament. Thus Uliac de Burgh became earl of Clanricarde; Murrock O'Brien, earl of Thomond; and the formidable O'Neil, earl of Tyrone. In all these and other measures there was considerable prudence and

ability, and the effect of Henry's general policy was greatly to extend the English power in Ireland.*

We left the affairs of Scotland in a most embarrassed state, at the second departure of the Regent Albany for France, in October, 1522. Henry, who had pretended that the sole cause of his hostility was the presence of that prince, on the retirement of Albany, sent Clarenceux to declare, in a solemn manner, that he held the war to be unnatural, and that he was most desirous of living in peace with his dear nephew James. Nearly at the same moment his troops, collected in the east marches, ravaged and burnt the greater part of Teviotdale; and the Earl of Surrey (the Duke of Norfolk of later times), with 10,000 men, burst into the Merse, burning and destroying all before him, without even respecting the beautiful old abbey of Jedburgh, which he left a heap of ruins. Lord Dacre continued his ancient practices; and whenever there was a traitor in Scotland he was ready to bribe him. In 1523 Albany returned with a fleet of 87 small vessels, 4000 foot soldiers, 500 men-at-arms, 1000 hackbutters, 600 horse, and a decent train of artillery, which had been furnished to him by the French. He found his former close and dear ally, Margaret, the queen-dowager, who had taken to herself another lover, deep in negotiations with Dacre and Surrey, and sold to promote the English interests at the expense of the independence of the Scottish nation and her son's crown His position was more than ever difficult; the Scots were jealous of the foreign army with which he was surrounded, and, being well informed of what was passing on the Continent, they maintained that Albany wished to urge them into a war with England for the sole object of obliging France. The Scottish parliament, however, assembled, and a proclamation was issued for a muster of the whole military force of the kingdom on the 20th of October, that the defeat of Flodden might be avenged, and reprisals made for the incursions of Shrewsbury, Surrey, and the other leaders who had committed such

* State Papers.

havoc on the borders. By means of money Albany won over some of the most venal of the nobles, and even shook the English politics of the queen-dowager, who, with great delicacy, informed the Earl of Surrey, that, unless her brother Henry remitted her more cash, she might possibly join the French interest, and co-operate with Albany. On the appointed day the Scottish army appeared in array near Edinburgh; but Argyle, the Lord Forbes, the Earl of Huntley, and other great lords, were absent; some openly condemning the invasion of England, some pretending sickness. Albany, however, marched to the Tweed with about 40,000 men; but the season was far advanced; the roads were almost impassable for his artillery; the Scots quarrelled with the foreign auxiliaries, and many of their chiefs had engaged with Surrey and Dacre to check the regent's progress. When they reached the wooden bridge of Melrose, a large body of troops refused to cross the Tweed; and, soon after, the divisions which had passed halted, wavered, and then, in spite of Albany's entreaties and reproaches, recrossed the bridge to the Scottish side. The regent then attempted to keep them close on the left bank of the Tweed, and he laid siege to Wark Castle with his foreign troops and artillery. But he was foiled even in this paltry enterprise; and on the 4th of November, after losing some three hundred Frenchmen in an assault, he was compelled to beat a retreat.* On his return to the capital, some of the Scottish peers accused him of being the cause of the disgrace they themselves had brought about; and, notwithstanding the presence of Surrey on the borders, and the inclemency of the season, they insisted on his instantly dismissing the foreign auxiliaries. Soon after, in the spring of 1524, Albany, in disgust and despair, returned once more to France, whence he marched with the French king into Italy. The defeat and capture of Francis at the battle of Pavia completed the ruin of his party in Scotland, where the queen-dowager once more mismanaged affairs for a short

* Buchanan.—Tytler.

time. Henry had opened a correspondence with her husband, the Earl of Angus, who had been living in exile on the Continent, and who, upon certain conditions, engaged to forward the views of the English in his native country. But before this project could be carried into execution, Margaret, assisted by the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and others of the great nobles, got possession of the person of her son, carried him to Edinburgh, and there caused him to be declared of age, and to be proclaimed king. James was twelve years old when he received the oaths of allegiance of such of the spiritual and temporal peers as had espoused his mother's party. The whole plan was transparent, and all patriotic minds dreaded to see the government of the kingdom again in the hands of so capricious, unwise, and anti-national a person as Margaret. James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, resisted and threw ridicule on the notion of a boy of twelve years being king; for which they were committed to prison. Wolsey flattered Beaton with the hope of a cardinal's hat if he would renounce his engagement to support the regency established by the Scottish parliament, and become the tool of England; but Beaton, with all his faults, had a high and patriotic spirit; and he rejected these proposals. Henry cared not by what means he obtained the ascendancy: giving up Angus, who was now residing at his court, he determined to support this precious revolution, by which Margaret might reign in her son's name, and he might rule in hers. He sent her and the Earl of Arran some money and two hundred men-at-arms, as a body-guard for the young king; but Margaret was as wilful as her brother: she soon found fault with him for permitting the return of her now odious husband, and she threatened to throw herself into the arms of the enemies of England, unless Angus were kept away from Scotland. At the same time, she clamoured for more money, and demanded the order of the garter for her friend the Earl of Arran. But, very soon after, she disgusted the powerful Arran by taking to herself another paramour, in the person of Henry Stewart,

second son of Lord Evandale, a very handsome but inexperienced youth, whom she instantly raised to the important office of lord treasurer. Upon this, her party fell from her rapidly, and she did not mend matters by making her young lover chancellor soon after. She continued, at the same time, to excite the suspicions of Wolsey and her brother Henry, who thereupon renewed negotiations with her husband Angus, who was still at the English court. After many shameful intrigues, Angus, having agreed to do the will of Henry, was sent into Scotland; and, with English assistance, he was enabled to obtain possession of the young king, and, with that, the exercise of the royal authority. After a bold but unsuccessful attempt at resistance, Margaret consented to a treaty by which she was removed from any dependence as a wife upon Angus, and permitted to enjoy a voice in the council and the disposal of a portion of the patronage of the church. She would not have obtained such mild terms had it not been for the mediation of the English court, and the manœuvres of its skilful agents; yet the treaty was scarcely signed when she opened a secret negotiation with Albany and the French court, professing a readiness to go to all extremities against England, provided only they would assist her in expelling her husband Angus, and getting a divorce from Rome. But by this time Francis was a prisoner and Albany powerless; and, to complete her misfortunes, her brother's agents intercepted her letters, and laid them before the enraged majesty of England. She was now deprived of the very limited share of authority she had possessed; and her husband Angus, with the rest of the Douglases, governed the country. Angus consented, at last (in 1526), to a divorce, and Margaret married her paramour, and fell into deserved contempt with all parties.*

The young King James soon felt a desire to free himself from the thraldom of the Douglases; and in July,

* She died in 1539, having with great difficulty been prevailed upon *not* to divorce her third husband.

1528, when he was in his seventeenth year, with the assistance of Archbishop Beaton, he escaped from the confinement in which he was held, and threw himself into Stirling Castle, where he was soon joined by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglintoun, and Murray, and by many other powerful noblemen, who saluted him as their free and uncontrolled monarch—and, for the first time in his life, James *was* free. He instantly issued a proclamation, forbidding Angus, or any lord or retainer of the House of Douglas, to approach within six miles of his court, under pain of treason, and he presently levied an army, which enabled him to drive his enemies across the borders. Angus became the pensioner of Henry, and remained for some years an exile in England. The young James soon proved that he was very capable of the duties of government; and his frank, generous disposition, and easy popular manners, gained him the hearts of his subjects. He resolved to free his country from foreign dictation and the interference of England; and to that end he sought the alliance of the emperor and the French king. In 1532 the intrigues of the Earl of Bothwell, who had traitorously allied himself with England, and the desperation of Angus and the banished Douglases, brought on a war between the two countries; but hostilities were confined to the borders, where, properly speaking, peace never reigned; and a treaty was soon concluded under the mediation of the French king. The treaty, on terms very honourable to Scotland, was signed on the 12th of May, 1534. James was now in his twenty-second year. He publicly deplored his uncle the king of England's conduct, and expressed his own determination of supporting in Scotland the religion of his ancestors. His counsellors were chiefly priests, whose intolerance was heightened by the notorious fact that many of the Scottish nobles who inclined to a reform of the church were bad patriots, and in the pay of England. The more Henry attacked the Roman church, the more James seemed determined to defend it. The English court was much distressed by this diversity of opinion; and, to win over his nephew, Henry made him an offer

of the hand of his own daughter Mary, and sent him one of his own priests, Dr. Barlow, to preach to him. This Barlow found slight encouragement at the Scottish court, and the Scottish clergy shut up all the pulpits against him; upon which he described the clerical counsellors of James as being "the pope's pestilent preachers, and very limbs of the devil." The matrimonial negotiation fell to the ground, and so did a proposal made by Henry for a meeting with his nephew at York; and James soon after married the Princess Magdalen, daughter of the French king, a beautiful girl of sixteen. The ceremony took place in January, 1537, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris; and on the 19th of May the royal couple landed safely at Leith. But Magdalen, who was in a delicate state of health when she married, died of a rapid decline on the 7th of July, leaving her husband in great affliction, from which, however, he was soon sufficiently roused to send David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal, to look out for another wife in France. Beaton, who was accompanied by Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, presently concluded a match with Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, a lady who had refused the hand of his uncle of England. Mary of Guise arrived in Scotland, and the king's second marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church of St. Andrew's within a year after the death of his first wife. The Pilgrimage of Grace and other events in England, the Catholic feelings of his wife Mary, and other circumstances, confirmed James in his opposition to religious reform; and the affairs of the Scottish church, and in good part those of the nation, were chiefly intrusted to David Beaton, who, in the autumn of 1539, succeeded his uncle, James Beaton, in the primacy. The pope had addressed flattering messages to the king, and David Beaton had received a cardinal's hat—a melancholy effect of which high honours was soon seen in the burning of more heretics. These detestable executions drove all those who favoured the new doctrine into an alliance with the banished Douglases, who could only work by English means, and by modes perilous to the national

independence. And this course again exasperated the king more than ever against the Protestants. For a long time patriotism was allied with the old religion, and the new religion was banded with disaffection and anti-nationality. James, indeed, continued to support the church with all his might, not hesitating to adopt from his priestly counsellors a fierce spirit of intolerance and persecution.* Early in the following year his parliament passed more severe statutes against heresy. It was declared to be a capital offence to question the supreme authority or the spiritual infallibility of the pope; no person with the least taint of heresy was to enjoy any office under government; no private meetings, or conventicles or societies for the discussion of religious subjects were allowed, and informers against them were invited by high rewards; no good Catholic was to hold intercourse with any man or woman that had *at any time* entertained heretical notions, were it his own brother or sister; the casting down of images of saints and the Virgin was declared to be a damnable offence; and a reference was made in the act to that rage for destroying the sacred edifices, which was now in its infancy, but which gathered strength under persecution, and which in a few years left the beautiful abbeys and churches of Scotland heaps of sightless ruins. At the same time, however, the parliament exhorted all churchmen, high or low, to reform their lives and conversation, in order to remove a great ground of scandal and reproach.†

Soon after this Cardinal Beaton, and Panter, the king's secretary, proceeded on an embassy to Rome, *with secret instructions*. Alarmed at this mission, and at some new demonstrations on the Continent, Henry again pressed his nephew to meet him at York; and James, it appears, either consented or deceived the English envoys with vague and ambiguous language. The English king, in the month of August, took the northern road (it was the fatal journey which preceded the arrest of Catherine

* Sadler's State Papers.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.

Howard), travelled on to York, and waited there six days for the coming of the Scottish king. But James came not; and Henry, furious at what he considered a flaming insult, retraced his steps to London, whence he soon issued orders to Sir Robert Bowes to levy troops near the borders, and to the Archbishop of York to make search into the records and muniments, so as to ascertain and establish the just title of the kings of England to the kingdom of Scotland,—which absurd claim he was resolved to revive.* James sent an embassy to deprecate his uncle's wrath; but Beaton and the Catholic party generally were not averse to an open war, fearing greatly that their needy king might not always resist the tempting proposals of the English suppressionists. But, in good truth, peace had never been established on the borders; on the one side of which were the banished Douglases, eager to recover their estates with their swords; and on the other, English exiles, the victims of the Pilgrimage of Grace, who were animated with the same desire. The first great movement, however, proceeded from the English lines: in August, 1542, Sir James Bowes, the warden of the east marches, with the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and other Scottish exiles, with a body of three thousand horse, rushed into Teviotdale. The invading force was met at Haddenrig by the Earl of Huntley and Lord Home, who gained a complete victory, taking no fewer than six hundred prisoners of note. Henry, after proclaiming by manifestoes that the Scots were the aggressors, ordered a levy of forty thousand men, and sent the Duke of Norfolk, the earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Hertford to take the command of this army, which was joined by Angus and all the banished Douglases that had survived the fight at Haddenrig. At last, in the end of October, preceded by a fresh manifesto, in which Henry claimed the sovereignty of Scotland, Norfolk crossed the border, and burned two towns and twenty villages on the left bank of the Tweed.

* State Papers.—Sadler.—Tytler.

There he continued ransacking the country without any opposition, and without venturing to advance, as James was gathering an army in his front, while Huntley, Home, and Seton were watching him on the flank. Thirty thousand men gathered round the standard of James on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh; but there was disaffection in his camp: many of the nobles favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, either from a conviction of their truth or from an earnest desire to possess themselves of the lands and houses of the monks; others were led wholly by their hereditary attachment to the banished Douglases, whose standard floated on the side of the English; others, again, felt the unprofitableness of a war with England, and were of opinion that they should only act on the defensive. The provocation was great, but the latter would have been the wisest course; for, before James reached the Lammermuir Hills, Norfolk, in want of provisions, and distressed by the inclemency of the weather, was in full retreat. Having halted on Fala Muir, and reviewed his troops, which were exceedingly well appointed, though, like the enemy, somewhat short of provisions, James proposed that they should follow Norfolk, and make retaliation for his raid in England; but, to his great dismay, nearly every chief refused to cross the borders, alleging the lateness of the season, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and the imprudence of exposing the person of their sovereign, who, like his father, might find a Flodden Field. It was in vain that the gallant James called them cowards and traitors, and attempted to excite their revenge by pointing out the still smoking towns and villages and Scottish farms that marked the line of Norfolk's destructive march;—they would not move forward—they began to disband—and the king was obliged to ride back, with a bursting heart, to Edinburgh. The clergy, with a few of the peers, resolved to make an effort to retrieve the disgrace under which the king was sinking; and Lord Maxwell contrived to get together a force of ten thousand men, with which he proposed to burst suddenly into England by the western marches, and to remain there as many days as

Norfolk had remained in Scotland, burning and destroying in the like manner. James rode with this little army to the castle of Caerlaverock, where, by agreement with his council, he halted: Maxwell dashed across the border; but, no sooner were the Scots on English ground, on Solway Moss, than Oliver Sinclair, the king's minion, as he is termed, produced a commission appointing him to the supreme command of the army. Upon this many of the proud chiefs swore they would not serve under any such leader; and the clans and most of the troops broke out into open mutiny. In the midst of this scene of hopeless confusion a body of three hundred English horse came up to reconnoitre. The Scots took them for the van of Norfolk's army, and, without attempting to ascertain the fact, fled in the greatest disorder. The English horse, charging the fugitives, took nearly one thousand prisoners,—among whom were included the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton,—and then marched back towards merry Carlisle.* This disgraceful and unparalleled defeat was a death-blow to James: he rode slowly back to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh he proceeded to his palace at Falkland, where he shut himself up, brooding over his disgrace, and sitting for hours without speaking a word to any living being. There are few such authenticated cases of dying of what is called a broken heart. He was in the flower and prime of life, being only in his thirty-first

* State Papers.—Hall.—Herbert.—Some accounts make the English horse five or six hundred, instead of three hundred; but no increase of numbers can explain what happened to the honour of the Scots. We are justified in suspecting that many of them, who had been traitors before, and who agreed to sell their country afterwards, were taken willing prisoners. Others, according to Bishop Godwin, were taken by *Scottish* freebooters, and *sold* to the *English*.—"We charge them furiously; the Scots amazedly fly; many are slain, many taken; more plunged into the neighbouring fens, and, taken by Scottish freebooters, sold to us."—Godwin.

year, and, up to this last calamity, his constitution was vigorous, and he had scarcely known sickness; but now a slow fever fixed upon him, and he sank most rapidly. His wife, Mary of Guise, had borne him two sons, but they had both died in their infancy; she was now a third time *enceinte*, and near her time, and it was hoped that a seasonable turn might be given to his consuming thoughts by the birth of a son and heir; but the queen was delivered of a daughter,—the unfortunate Mary; and James died, on the 14th of December, seven days after her birth, foreseeing the dismal fate of his child and his country, and muttering in his last moments, "it came with a girl, and it will go with a girl."*

A.D. 1543.—The news of his nephew's death possessed Henry with new hopes of uniting Great Britain under one head. England had a young prince, and Scotland a queen, and he determined to marry his son Edward to the infant Mary. If he had been content with an arrangement for the future he might have succeeded, and, had Edward lived, a great blessing for both countries would have been achieved; but Henry was anxious for an *immediate* enjoyment of the united sovereignty, and resolved to demand, as the natural guardian of the young princess, the entire government of the Scottish kingdom; and this selfishness and precipitancy defeated his scheme. He, however, proceeded at first with considerable craft, and found noble and powerful Scots, who, from a ghostly anxiety to establish the reformed religion in Scotland, and, still more, from motives of self-interest, were ready to throw their country in fetters at his feet. Foremost among these were the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had both long been in his confidence, and bound to his service, soul and body. But the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, and the other nobles who had been

* Lesly.—Drummond.—Maitland.—Sir W. Scott.—Tytler.—The crown of Scotland was brought into the family of the Stuarts by a daughter of the Bruce.

taken prisoners in the disgraceful rout at Solway Moss, and had been at first (at least in outward appearance) very harshly treated by Henry, who shut them up for a few days in the Tower like rebels and traitors, were also ready to second his views. As soon as they showed this disposition Henry treated them with great honour and kindness, and under these blandishments their last faint feelings of patriotism departed. They concluded a formal and a solemn treaty, agreeing to acknowledge Henry as the sovereign lord of Scotland, to exert their influence in order to procure for him the government of the kingdom, with the possession of all the fortresses and the person of the infant queen, Mary, who was to be delivered into his hands, to be kept in England. They swore to this treaty; they delivered hostages for its execution, promising that, if they failed, they would return into England to the same state of captivity in which they were before the treaty was made. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, was intrusted with the chief management of the business; and all these unpatriotic lords were bound to proceed with great caution, and to feel their way, at first, by merely speaking of the benefits of the marriage, without alluding to any of its immediate consequences.*

As soon as James was dead, Cardinal Beaton produced a will, by which *he* was appointed guardian to the infant queen, and regent or "governor" of the realm, with the assistance of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Murray. The Earl of Arran, now presumptive heir to the throne, and as much wedded to the reforming party as Beaton was to the papists, declared that this will was a forgery, and he had sufficient power to drive the cardinal from his office, and to acquire possession of it himself in the course of a very few days. Arran became regent or governor on the 22nd of December, 1542, upon which the current set wholly in favour of the Protestant party. It was determined that Angus and the Douglases should be recalled from their long

* State Papers.

exile of fifteen years. It was not then known that they had agreed to sacrifice the independence of the kingdom; and they did not leave England until after the 10th of January, 1543, when they received a safe conduct from the Earl of Arran, permitting them freely to return to their homes. In order to ruin Cardinal Beaton and his party, a scroll was produced which was said to have been found upon the king's person at his death, and which contained a list of above three hundred and sixty of the Scottish nobility and gentry, who were marked out as heretics, and, as such, recommended as proper objects for confiscation and other penalties. At the very head of the list stood the name of the Earl of Arran, now regent! The cardinal despatched agents to France to represent to the House of Guise the danger of the queen-dowager and her infant, and to beg for a supply of money and troops to resist the encroachments of the King of England and the manœuvres of the Scottish party sold to that monarch. As soon as the marriage was whispered, he saw all that Henry intended thereby, and he everywhere denounced the project, as tending to nothing less than the enslaving of Scotland. To quiet his dangerous eloquence, Arran, who found it necessary to seek the support of the men who had engaged to sacrifice their country, ordered his instant arrest; and the cardinal was seized on a charge of high treason, and carried off to the castle of Blackness, before he could get his own party together. Beaton had been recently appointed legate *à latere* for Scotland; and his influence with the clergy was as boundless as was their conviction that his talent and energy alone could prevent their ruin. They now shut up their churches; they refused to administer the sacraments or to bury the dead; and, as the great mass of the people were as yet Catholics, this conduct produced a deep impression; while, being relieved from other duties, the priests and monks had more time to devote to politics. We cannot question, for one moment, that the Roman priesthood was still on the patriotic side. Henry, in the mean time, was far too impatient. As if to proclaim his intentions, he demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be

delivered into his hands; and he pressed Angus and the Scottish prisoners to begin by putting him in possession of the Scottish fortresses at once. The traitors told him that, if he would wait patiently, all would go well, and they would fulfil all that had been stipulated between them: but patience was a virtue unknown to Henry; he would only allow them a given time—he would only consent to prolong the truce till the month of June; and he at once collected what troops he could in the northern provinces. The heart of Wallace and the Bruce still beat in the general bosom of the brave Scottish people, though the proudest of the aristocracy—the barons of "the broken faith and the bloody hand"—were Baliols and Comyns. The traitor Sir George Douglas soon told Henry that to demand the government for him would be a perilous and fatal step.* With all this patriotism, however,—with all their passion for national freedom,—the papist party seemed resolved to allow of no liberty of conscience in religious matters. The Earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Murray had demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be set at liberty, offering themselves in bail for his appearance, to answer the charges brought against him. Arran, the regent, refused. They then called to their assistance the Earl of Argyle, and repaired to Perth, where they were soon joined by a great number of bishops and abbots, and many barons and knights. They then drew up certain articles, which were presented to Arran and the council of regency by the Bishop of Orkney and Sir John Campbell of Caldour, uncle to the Earl of Argyle. One of the principal of these articles was, that the New Testament should not go abroad; by which was meant, that it should not be published in the vulgar tongue, or circulated among the people:—another was, that the cardinal should be set at liberty. By the third article they demanded a share in the council: and, by the fourth, they insisted that the ambassadors appointed to go to England should be changed for men of less questionable integrity and patriotism. Arran re-

* Sadler.—State Papers.

plied that he would grant them no such unreasonable desires; and the bishop and knight were presently followed to Perth by his herald-at-arms, who charged them, under pain of treason, to break up their meeting, and repair to the capital. The assembled lords, both lay and spiritual, readily obeyed, and, with a very few exceptions, went to attend the parliament, which was summoned for the 12th of March, 1543; but they had come to a good understanding among themselves—they were on their guard, and it was scarcely possible that any measure dangerous to the independence of Scotland should be carried, or even proposed in their presence, and in the state to which *they* had brought the popular mind.* The Archbishop of Glasgow, as chancellor, introduced the English proposals of peace and marriage: all voices were in favour of the union, but not one dared to propose the other demands which the King of England had advanced as indispensable preliminaries—as conditions, without which he would do nothing. The parliament, in recommending the marriage, recommended also that their young queen should, on no account, be sent into England; and they made, with jealous care, sundry regulations for preserving the national independence under all circumstances.†

Henry flew into a paroxysm of rage when he heard the turn this affair had taken; his ambassador or political agent Sir Ralph Sadler was instructed to reprimand Angus and his associates. Sadler, who would not have doubted lightly of the success of those intrigues of which he was so expert a manager, wrote to one of the English ministers, that, in his opinion, "the Scots would rather suffer any extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England,—that they would have their own realm free, and live within themselves after their own laws and customs."‡ Henry then attempted to terrify

* State Papers.—Letter from the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to the English Lord Lisle.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.

‡ State Papers.

or cajole the Regent Arran—a weak and corrupt man, but not wholly destitute of honour and national feeling. He promised that he would give his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to Arran's son; but here a consideration of a selfish nature intervened; for Arran contemplated uniting his son to the young Queen Mary. The regent's passion for church reform was not overlooked; but here, again, Arran could hardly agree with the English reformer, who continued to maintain the chief dogmas of the Catholic church with fire and fagot; for Arran was at this time a thorough Protestant, entertaining in his house one John Rough, and one brother William, whom Henry most indubitably would have burned as pestilent heretics. At this very moment Cardinal Beaton recovered his liberty. By what means this was effected is not very clear, but the consequences were soon apparent. The Earl of Lennox, who had served Francis I. in his Italian wars, and who was very nearly related to the royal family of Scotland, was set up as a rival to Arran; and supplies of money and ammunition were brought over from Francis, who undertook to exert himself to the utmost, in order to prevent altogether the English marriage and alliance. But, at the same time, Angus, Sir George Douglas, and the other paid and pensioned agents of Henry, were not idle; and there is full proof that they really intended—at one time confidently hoped—to do the will of the English king, and sacrifice the liberties of their country. By their advice, Henry relaxed in the harshness of his demands, and agreed to wait the effect of time and intrigue. On the 1st of July his commissioners met Sir George Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, Sir James Learmont, Sir William Hamilton, and Balnavis, the Scotch secretary, at Greenwich, and there finally arranged a less objectionable treaty. It was agreed that Queen Mary should marry Edward, Prince of Wales, as soon as she was of proper age, and that a perfect peace should be established, from the signing of the treaty, between the two countries; that Mary should remain in Scotland until she completed her tenth year—Henry being permitted to send thither an English noble-

man, with his wife and family, to form part of her household; and that two Scottish earls and four barons should be sent forthwith into England as hostages. It was provided in the treaty, and set down as an indefeasible part of it, that in all cases the ancient kingdom of Scotland should keep her name, and be governed by her own laws.* But, in effect, this outward parchment was but a cover to a scheme of the utmost perfidy—a scheme which must have been suspected by the Scottish statesmen of those days, though it has only been fully brought to light in our own by the research of a national historian.† Under the treaty of Greenwich there was what was called a *secret device*,—a name which very happily expresses the nature of the thing. By this precious compact, Angus, his brother George, Maxwell, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest, bound themselves once more to the service of Henry,—undertook, in case of need, to arm in his favour, and to adhere solely to his interests; "so that he should attain all the things then pacted and covenanted, or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth;" by which last expression was meant the whole of the south of Scotland.‡

But the treaty was scarcely concluded, when Cardinal Beaton and the Earl of Huntley collected an army in the north of Scotland, when Argyle and Lennox rose in the west, and Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleugh mustered their vassals along the borders. Their manifesto stated that they were forced into these hostile measures by Arran and the Douglases, who threatened their holy church, and who had sold their country to Henry. At this crisis, or a little later, Arran, who was receiving money from the English court, sent to request the assistance of an English army. Before this, Henry tried every possible means for seizing

* Rymer.—Sadler's State Papers.

† Mr. Tytler.

‡ State Papers. "Copy of the Secret Device," dated July 1, 1543. Further information as to these treacherous transactions exists in the "Hamilton MSS." in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, and quoted by Mr. Tytler.

Beaton, and getting possession of the person of Queen Mary. The cardinal dreaded his stratagems and the effect of his gold; and he resolved to put the infant Mary in safer keeping. She was living with her mother, Mary of Guise, in the palace of Linlithgow, guarded by a great force appointed by Arran and the Hamiltons. By combined movements, the cardinal brought all the forces of Lennox, Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell, together with the Buccleughs and the Kers, to act suddenly at one moment on Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. Arran and the Douglases yielded to the storm; and the infant queen, and the queen-dowager, were given up to Beaton's party, and conveyed for safety to Stirling Castle.* Arran, however, retained the office of regent or governor; and in the month of August of the same year (1543) he caused the treaties with England to be ratified by the nobles, and himself swore to their faithful observance.† Cardinal Beaton and his party represented, with perfect truth, that this ratification was made contrary to the wishes of the great body of the nation,—that it was unauthorised by parliament, and in consequence illegal. Henry chose this very moment for offering a fresh provocation. As soon as the treaty of peace was published, some Scottish merchants ventured to send to sea a number of ships; these ships were driven by stress of weather into an English port, where, by the king's orders, they were seized, and their cargoes confiscated, under pretence that they were carrying provision to his majesty's enemies in France.‡ This measure excited such a fury in Edinburgh, that Sir Ralph Sadler found his life in danger from the populace; upon which Henry threatened the magistrates of that capital with his high displeasure. Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, and the other

* 'Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, from Death of James IV. to 1575,' 4to. Edin. 1833: a valuable volume, printed by the Bannatyne Club.

† Sadler.—State Papers.

‡ Henry had just declared war against Francis.

pensioners of England, now thought that it would be better to bring matters to a crisis openly, and they strongly recommended Henry to send a main army for the conquest of the realm --the time, they said, being come: but Arran, the regent, seems to have trembled at the exasperation of the Scottish people, and, to the surprise of most men, on the 3rd of September, only six days after protesting to Sadler that no prince alive should have his heart and service save only the English king, he met the cardinal by appointment at Callendar House, and entirely reconciled himself with that party, agreeing to renounce all former pledges, and even his attachment to the reformed doctrines. Very soon after, he publicly abjured his heresy in the Franciscan convent of Stirling, and received absolution for his late wandering from the holy Catholic faith. Beaton then applied himself to win over the Earl of Angus and his traitorous associates; but these men seemed determined to earn their pensions, and, withdrawing to Douglas Castle, they assembled their vassals, and drew up a new bond or covenant, to employ their whole strength in fulfilling their engagements with the King of England. Lord Somerville undertook to deliver this bond to Henry, and to concert with him proper warlike measures. Beaton, on the other side, caused the infant queen to be crowned at Stirling, appointed a new council, and made Arran, as governor or regent, take a most solemn oath to govern according to the advice of this council. On a sudden, the Earl of Lennox, whom the cardinal had played off with good effect against Arran, disgusted with the reconciliation that had taken place between Beaton and the regent, and led by other base motives, threw himself into the English interests. Lennox was a scoundrel worthy of his new associates. To him had been intrusted the recent negotiations with the French court; and when the Sieur de la Brosse arrived with a few ships, bearing fifty pieces of artillery, some military stores, and ten thousand crowns to be distributed amongst the anti-English party, he anchored at Dunbarton, *because* the town and castle were devoted to his friend

the Earl of Lennox. Taking good care not to inform him of his sudden change of politics, Lennox got all the gold, and then left the poor ambassador to discover his mistake. In his eagerness for the money, Lennox lost the rest of the cargo on board the French ships, which landed a papal legate, Marco Grimani, who was commissioned to confirm Arran in his new zeal for Papistry, and to attend to the affairs of the church generally. The more patriotic of the Scottish nobles entertained this clever and polished Italian with great hospitality.* But there wanted no legate from the pope to excite the Scottish people. Somerville was seized, and the traitorous bond recently signed at Douglas Castle was found upon his person, along with other letters, which disclosed the full extent of that treasonable plan. Maxwell, another chief agent of the English party, was seized at the same time. Angus, with the Douglases and others, took up arms; but they were disconcerted by the decisive steps of the regent, who now acted under the control of Cardinal Beaton. Dalkeith and Pinkie, two of the chief places of the Douglases, were occupied by government troops, and Angus was obliged to take refuge in his strong castle of Tantallon, carrying with him his dear friend Sir Ralph Sadler, whose life, by all law, was forfeited to the Scots. The Scottish parliament met in unusual numbers; and Grimani, the legate, and the French ambassadors, de la Brosse and Mesnage, were introduced at proper moments. Arran would have hesitated, but Beaton boldly caused Angus, and all his party whose names were to the infamous bond signed at Douglas Castle, to be accused of treason; and, not stopping here, the parliament, under the same energetic direction, declared that the late treaties of peace and marriage with England were void and at an end, in consequence of the unjust conduct of the king in seizing the Scottish ships, promoting incursions on the borders,

* State Papers.—Sadler.—Diurnal of Occurrents.—Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Tytler (Hist. Scot.) and Chalmers (Life of Mary).

and refusing to ratify the peace in proper time. De la Brosse and Mesnage delivered a message from Francis, who was expecting to be invaded by the English.

Henry had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with his ally Francis. They had never been good friends since the marriage with Anne Boleyn; but it was the steady encouragement given by the French king to the Scots that brought about an open rupture. Before declaring himself, Henry sought a reconciliation with their old and common enemy, the emperor; and Charles, though greatly grown in power and in experience, had still such respect for the might of England as to be ready to make many concessions to her capricious king, in order to obtain her alliance. He was willing to admit that, as his aunt Catherine, and her rival Anne Boleyn, were both in their graves, all causes of difference ought to be buried with them; but still Charles was anxious to remove an insult to his family that had been made permanent in the person of Catherine's daughter, the Princess Mary. Here, as on other occasions, Henry's "subtle devisings" saved his pride, and the service to be done was thrown upon that slave of all-work—the parliament. Without mentioning her legitimacy, which would have been to declare that the king had acted most unlawfully by her mother, they passed an act restoring Mary to her place in the succession, and both her and her half-sister, the princess Elizabeth, to their civil rights; so that it was now treason to hold the marriages of the king with Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn to be legal,—it was treason to hold the children by the said marriages to be illegitimate,—it was treason to be silent upon the subject,—and it was treason to refuse to take an oath upon it when required.* The emperor, who had suffered severe losses in his last campaign, was fain to be satisfied with this very extraordinary act, and a treaty was concluded in the month of February (1543). In the month of June Francis refused even to listen to their demands, and this they considered as a declaration

* Raumer.

of war. Henry talked largely of campaigns and conquests, but, in effect, he did little more than send six thousand men to the Continent under Sir John Wallop, and this insignificant force acted merely as auxiliary to the army of the emperor, who only thought of recovering some towns he had lost in Flanders, and of reducing the Duke of Cleves, then in close alliance with the French. Instead of taking the field, Henry, after an unusually long widowhood, took to himself a sixth wife, in the person of Catherine Parr, a very matronly, learned, discreet, and sagacious woman, widow to Neville, Lord Latimer. It is said that Catherine was well versed in the new learning, and a sincere convert to the Protestant faith: it is quite certain that the Protestant party rejoiced at the union; and yet it is equally certain that, only sixteen days after the nuptials, three Sacramentarians or Protestants were burnt alive in Smithfield. Catherine seems to have crawled with the axe hung by a thread over her neck, till death relieved her of her dangerous husband.

Sir Thomas Wallop, after failing miserably in the siege of Landreci, and losing a considerable portion of his army, withdrew to winter-quarters.*

A.D. 1544.—With an exhausted exchequer, it was resolved, in the wisdom of the king and his council, to conquer both Scotland and France at one and the same time; and, with an obese body, no longer fit even for the mere parade and spectacular part of war, Henry resolved to take the field in person. By immense and ruinous efforts an army of thirty thousand men was raised, and in the month of July, about a year after his late marriage, of which he was probably already tired, the king's gracious majesty, in his royal person, passed the seas from Dover to Calais. A part of the army, led by the Duke of Norfolk and "the gentle Lord Russell," had taken the field, and laid siege to Montreuil, "where they lay a long time, and left the town as they found it." When

* State Papers.—Godwin.—Du Bellay.

Henry, "like a very god of war," assumed the command of the English forces and of fifteen thousand Imperialists sent by Charles to act with him, wonderful things were expected. The plan of the campaign had been nicely defined by the two allies. Charles was to strike across France by Champagne, Henry by Picardy; and neither was to stop till he reached Paris, where, in their united might, they were to dispose of the French monarchy. It was the old plan which had failed twice or thrice already, but this time they were to profit by past experience, and on no account to loiter on their way in besieging towns and castles: and yet the very first thing which Henry did was, to sit down with the mass of his army before the town of Boulogne, and to swear one of his biggest oaths, amidst the roar of his biggest guns, that he would do nothing else until he had taken it. In vain Charles implored him to advance: he justified his delay by saying that the emperor, on his side, had stopped to take some castles; and he continued burning an enormous quantity of gunpowder before Boulogne, which badly fortified city detained him and his great army for nearly two months! When the garrison of Boulogne at last capitulated, and marched out with bag and baggage, "the king's highness having the sword borne naked before him by the Lord Marquess Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror rode into the town, and all the trumpeters, standing on the walls of the town, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the king's true subjects."*

Before Henry had made this solemn entrance Charles had very wisely opened negotiations with the French king, and shortly after (in the month of September) the treaty of Crespi was signed, and fully ratified. His majesty of England, who had refused to be included in it, was left to carry on the war by himself; and Francis and the emperor agreed to forget all former grievances, and to unite their families and their politics by intermarriages.

* Hall.—Du Bellay.—Godwin.—Rymer.—Rymer gives Henry's own journal, which is a curious document.

Having garrisoned Boulogne, and destroyed the church of "Our Ladye" there, Henry returned to England sorely impoverished. Nor did Henry gain more glory by his lieutenants in Scotland than he had gained personally on the Continent. Some time before his departure for Boulogne he sent the Viscount Lisle, brother to the late Queen Jane Seymour and admiral of England, and the Earl of Hertford, uncle of Prince Edward, with a fleet of two hundred sail, having on board an army of ten thousand men, to make a sudden attack upon Leith and Edinburgh, and to demand the immediate surrender of the young queen and of sundry fortresses. Arran, as regent, had made no suitable preparations; and Cardinal Beaton, by burning some poor people at Perth (for denying the efficacy of prayer to the saints and the Virgin, for treating an image of St. Francis irreverently, for breaking the fast of Lent, and for other heresies), had revived the keen hostility of the reforming party. At the same time the noble pensioners of England were not idle, and there was nothing but division or distrust at a moment when all Scotsmen ought to have been united by the common danger. On the 4th of May the English landed at Leith, which they plundered and occupied with little opposition. Though left almost entirely to themselves, the citizens of Edinburgh barricaded their gates, and determined to defend their ancient town. When Otterburn of Reid Hall, their provost, went with a flag of truce to remonstrate with the English commander, and to propose an amicable adjustment, Hertford told him that he came as a soldier, not as an ambassador, —that they must instantly deliver up their young queen; for, if they did not, he was commanded to ravage their country with fire and sword.* Otterburn thought pro-

* Here is part of the infernal commission given by the king to the Earl of Hertford:—"You are there to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a memory of the vengeance of God alighted upon it, for their falsehood and *dis-*

per to remain in the English camp, but the people of Edinburgh chose a new provost, and held out. They even compelled Hertford to retreat to Leith, but, when he brought up his heavy artillery, they found it a hopeless attempt to defend their wooden gates; and, removing as much of their property as they could, the citizens for the most part evacuated the town during the night, leaving the brave Hamilton of Stenhouse to hold the castle. The English entered the Canongate, put a few stragglers to the sword, and plundered such property as was left. But Hertford was foiled before Edinburgh Castle; his guns were dismounted by a sure fire from the ramparts, and he beat a retreat, which was covered by the smoke and flame of the city, to which he barbarously set fire. Being reinforced by a motley host of four thousand borderers, partly English, and partly Scots, the retainers of the house of Douglas, he employed himself in executing his king's commission to the letter, burning and destroying all the open country round the Scottish capital. In the vain hope of reconciling that faction, the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had been arrested, were set at liberty; upon which Sir George forthwith repaired to Leith, and had a private interview with the Earl of Hertford, to whom he be-

loyalty. . . . . Do what you can out of hand, and, *without long tarrying* (it was felt that this would not be safe with ten thousand men), to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can; sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, *putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword*, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrew's, *as the upper stone may be the nether*, and not one stick stand by another, *sparing no creature alive* within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal. . . . . *This journey shall succeed most to his majesty's honour.*" —Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Mr. Tytler.

trayed all that he knew concerning the plans adopted by his countrymen. But the English soon found that they could not maintain their ground even at Leith, which they had fortified; and, in the middle of May, as Arran and Cardinal Beaton were marching towards them with a superior force, they abandoned the shores of the Forth, part sailing away with the fleet, and the rest, under Hertford, marching rapidly alongshore towards Berwick. Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton—all the towns between Edinburgh and Berwick—were plundered and burnt, and every village and cottage near the road partook of the same fate. This was too much even for the traitors, and for those Scots who had wished for the presence of an English army in order to curb the fierceness of the Catholic party. The Earl of Angus joined the cardinal, who was the real director of the campaign; and even his brother, Sir George Douglas, was induced to pursue the same course, apparently giving up his English treaties and pensions. Indeed, in a very short time Henry had no traitorous ally in Scotland except Lennox and Glencairn; and the popular feeling of hatred against him and the English amounted almost to a phrenzy. Glencairn was defeated in a sanguinary battle near Glasgow; and Lennox, having delivered the castle of Dunbarton into his keeping, fled by sea into England. Lennox soon returned from England with a fleet of eight ships; and, "hanging over the coast of Scotland, like a cloud uncertain where to disburden itself, he deterred the Scots from undertaking anything against England during the absence of the king in France." He took the isles of Arran and Bute; and, according to agreement, delivered them up to Sir Rice Mansel and Richard Broke, who accompanied him in the expedition with a small force of English archers and pikemen. He plundered Kentire, Kyle, and Carrick, and returned loaded with booty and disgrace to an English port. While he had been plundering like a pirate by sea, Sir Ralph Evre, and other English officers, ravaged the Scottish borders in their whole length, and with a fury that but too plainly showed the intention of making those parts a desert. At

the same time the two factions disagreed on every important point, and it was soon discovered, or suspected upon very good grounds, that the Douglases had renewed their plots with the English. Confidence disappeared,—the men could not trust their officers,—and when Arran took the field, with six thousand men, Angus, Cassillis, and others of the lords who had formerly bound themselves to Henry, would not fight; and the whole force fled disgracefully before two thousand English troops. But Angus and the Douglases were now made really patriotic and true to the national cause, by a report that Henry had promised all their hereditary estates to Sir Ralph Evre, if that officer could conquer them. Angus swore a great oath, that he would give Sir Ralph his *seisin** on his skin, with sharp pens and bloody ink. Nothing deterred, the fierce Englishman in the following year re-entered Scotland, making all the country a desert about Jedburgh and Kyle. His host consisted of English archers, foreign mercenaries collected during the late expedition into France, and seven or eight hundred freebooters from the Scottish borders; in all, about six thousand men. They burned the tower of Broom House, and in it a noble old lady with her whole family. They penetrated to Melrose, where they vented their barbarous spite on the beautiful old abbey and the tombs of the Douglases within it.

Angus's temporary patriotism was increased by the last-mentioned deed, and he joined the Regent Arran with all the vassals he could collect. Yet even at this moment his brother Sir George Douglas was corresponding with Sir Ralph Evre, and is supposed to have betrayed the movement of his countrymen to the English, who surprised Arran and Angus in an unfavourable position, and forced them to retreat with some loss. After burning Melrose, Sir Ralph Evre turned down the Tweed, being followed or watched in flank by Arran

* A seisin, in the Scotch law, is the instrument or attestation of a notary, that possession of the land has been actually given by the superior to the vassal: it is the evidence or record of the infeftment or investiture.

and Angus, who had re-collected their forces behind the Eildon Hills. Their recent successes had made the English commanders confident and careless. They marched upon Jedburgh with very little precaution; but when they came to Ancrum Moor, on the Teviot, they found the Scots drawn up in order of battle. On a near approach, Arran and Angus were disposed to decline battle, on account of the great inequality in numbers; but Sir Walter Scott, the veteran laird of Buccleugh, galloped up to announce that his followers were close at hand; and Norman Lesly arrived on the field with twelve thousand spears. Still, however, the Scots were very inferior in number, and they had recourse to some skilful manœuvring, which was recommended and directed by Walter Scott. A part of their army was concealed; their horses, mounted by the camp-boys, were posted on the crest of a hill, so as to look like a second army; and every fighting-man put his foot to the heather, having both sun and wind at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. The English advanced in a great hurry on horseback, as if loth to let the Scots escape them: the foremost line of the Scots retreated, but only for a few yards, when the assailants found themselves suddenly chased by a dense phalanx of Scottish pikemen, with spears an ell longer than those of the English.* Sir Brian Latoun and Sir Robert Bowes, who led the English van, were thrown back in disorder upon the main body, which was charging up the hill with great assurance under Sir Ralph Evre; and then the battle became general. It was, however, short: as soon as the English began to give way, the Scottish borderers, who had followed their standard, threw away their red crosses and fell upon their former allies. Upon this there ensued a general panic; the English fled in the greatest confusion, and the Scots pursued them with great slaughter. Wherever the fugitives turned, they found infuriated

* The length of the Scottish pike or spear was fixed, by act of parliament, in 1471, at six ells—that is, eighteen feet and a half.

enemies in the peasantry, who had suffered so sorely from their recent excesses. Even the women and children joined in the carnage, and all pity was dismissed by their cries of "Remember their cruelty at Broom House!" Eight hundred of the English were killed in this battle, and a thousand, maimed and wounded, were taken prisoners. The joy of the Scots was at its height when they discovered among the dead the bodies of Evre and Latoum.*

A. D. 1545.—Henry's great conquest of Boulogne, achieved at an expense of four hundred thousand pounds of English money, was very nearly lost almost as soon as won, and the place was only saved by the gallantry and skill of Sir Thomas Poynings. Francis saw how greatly the English pale in France would be strengthened by the addition of Boulogne, and he made great efforts, both by sea and land, to retake it. Large galleys were built at Rouen, others were ordered round from Marseilles and the French ports on the Mediterranean, and all manner of great ships,—Venetians, Aragonese, Italians, or whatsoever they might be,—were pressed into the French service either by fair means or foul.† When Francis saw this formidable navy safely collected on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, he conceived the bold notion of striving for the mastery of the sea, and seizing upon the Isle of Wight. Henry received timely warning that Francis intended to attempt an invasion, but he did not

* The place where the battle was fought received the name of Lilliard's Edge, "from an Amazonian Scottish woman of that name," says Sir Walter Scott, "who is reported, by tradition, to have distinguished herself in the same manner as Squire Witherington at Chevy Chase. The old people point out her monument, now broken and defaced. The inscription is said to have run thus:—

"Fair maiden Lylliard lies under this stane;
Little was her stature, but great was her fame.
Upon the English louns she laid many thumps,
And when her legs were cutted off, she fought upon her stumps."

† State Papers.

know where the blow might fall. His exchequer was very bare, but the people hastened to fortify the banks of the Thames, the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and sixty ships of war were collected at Portsmouth under the flag of Dudley Lord Lisle, the high admiral. On the 16th of July the French fleet, amounting to one hundred and thirty-six sail, under the command of Annebaut, put to sea, and two days after they fell down the channel that separates the Isle of Wight from the main, and cast anchor at St. Helen's. These were not days for heroical achievements: Lisle, after a distant cannonading, retired into Portsmouth harbour, where the king then was, and whence he saw a foreign fleet insulting him to his face, and riding triumphant in the Channel. The next day Annebaut put out his flat-bottomed galleys and vessels that drew little water; and, while these went up to the very mouth of the port, he ravaged the coast and did whatever he could to provoke the English to come out and give battle; but, by Henry's orders, the lord admiral stirred not. After holding a council of war, the French admiral determined to attack the Isle of Wight, and a descent was made in three several places; but the brave inhabitants drove the invaders back to their ships, though not before much of their property had been plundered or given to the flames. Annebaut sailed away towards Dover, landing occasionally to burn and destroy. In some places, however, his men got worse than they gave, being cut to pieces by the inhabitants, who lay in ambush to receive them. It was now the object of the French admiral, who stood off-and-on in the narrow part of the Channel, to prevent the English from victualling Boulogne, and from sending reinforcements of ships from the Thames to Portsmouth; but he executed his commission with very indifferent success: provisions were thrown into Boulogne, which greatly wanted them, almost under the shadow of his own flag; and the lord-admiral at Portsmouth was reinforced with thirty sail. When Dudley received the king's orders to put forth against the enemy, he said, with proper spirit, that he would lose no time in so doing,—that he was grateful for being

restored to his liberty, having never thought himself in prison till now, since the time of his lying there doing nothing. The watch-word for the fleet in the night was, "God save King Henry!"—to which the answer was, "And long to reign over us!" The two fleets were soon in presence between Brighton and the French coast, but "thought it best to eschew the fight that day for a better day," and, in the end, they did nothing but exchange a few long shots. The English commander went back to Portsmouth, the French withdrew to Brest.*

Henry's father had left him the richest sovereign in Europe, but that money had long been gone. The seizure of the church property, after all deductions, had furnished him with immense sums, but they, too, were all gone. The parliament had voted such subsidies as had never been voted before, but they were all spent as soon as raised. In his constant and recurring need he had already adopted all kinds of illegal measures to extract more money from his people. His officers had obtained returns which showed the value of each man's estate; and with this clue he now addressed a royal letter to every person rated at 50*l.* per annum, requesting a certain sum by way of loan. To refuse was dangerous: in most cases he got the money he asked for, and then he made parliament vote him a grant of all the money so raised, as well as whatever sums he had borrowed from any of his subjects since 1539, or the thirty-first year of his reign! After this he had recourse to a benevolence, and the people, who had made a spirited opposition to that illegal mode of raising money in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, were now fain to submit and pay. Henry had long since adopted the common but ruinous system of adulterating the coinage: now he debased it to such an extent that what was called the silver shilling contained twice as much alloy as silver. This practice greatly embarrassed the trade of the country, and tended to dry up his resources at the fountain head. In the month of

* State Papers.—Du Bellay.—Holinshed.—Godwin.—Southey.—Naval Hist.

November he made a very tender appeal to parliament, explaining his increasing wants, and parliament not only voted him an enormous subsidy, but also granted him the disposal of all colleges, charities, and hospitals in the kingdom, with all their manors, lands, and hereditaments, receiving, in return, his gracious promise that they should all be employed to the glory of God and the public good. This was the last grant the tyrant got from his slaves, and he did not live to employ the whole power the act gave him. Had he survived a little while longer, he would not have left an hospital for the cure of the sick, or a school for the instruction of youth.

A great deal of the money thus wrung from the *loyal* English was spent among the traitors of Scotland. The victory of Ancrum had raised the spirits of the Scottish people. It was scarcely gained, however, when Angus, his brother George, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest of that vile league, renewed their intercourse with Sir Ralph Sadler, who was appointed treasurer of an army that was levying in the north of England, under the Earl of Hertford. On the 17th of April, Cassillis endeavoured to induce the convention of the Scottish nobility, held at Edinburgh, to ask pardon of the King of England, and to solicit a renewal of the treaty of marriage; but Cardinal Beaton, who was encouraged by assurance of assistance from Francis, who was then preparing his great naval expedition, kept alive the spirit of the more patriotic among the nobles; the proposals were rejected; the treaty of marriage was declared to be at an end for ever: upon which, Cassillis advised Henry to try a fresh invasion of his native land. But Henry, as we have seen, found other business of more urgency; and fancying that all opposition in Scotland would cease if he could only remove Beaton, he entertained the project for assassinating the cardinal. In the month of May, Cassillis, acting with the other noble traitors, sent a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, very coolly making an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." These high-born villains never moved

a step without bargaining beforehand. Sadler showed the letter to the Earl of Hertford and the council of the north, who evidently thought the plan a good one, and transmitted it to the king. Henry's reply was worthy of Cassillis's proposal. On the 30th of May, his privy council wrote to the Earl of Hertford:—"His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl, of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter, he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good-will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it; believing, verily, to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not, of his accustomed goodness to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him."* Sir Ralph Sadler accordingly wrote, in the indirect manner pointed out by Henry, to Cassillis; and Thomas Forster, an Englishman of some note, who had recently been a prisoner-of-war in Scotland, at the request of the Scottish conspirators, and by order of Henry, who commanded that no time should be lost, was sent across the borders, to consult with Cassillis, Angus, and Sir George Douglas. Forster entered Scotland at Wark, and, without provoking much suspicion, reached Dalkeith, where he had an interview with Sir George, who wished him to go to Douglas, where he would cause the Earls of Cassillis and Angus to meet him; for he, Sir George, said he could not get them to Dalkeith without great suspicion. These secret agents, going towards Douglas, met the

* State Papers.

Earl of Angus at Dumfries, where, as he was hunting, he gave Forster welcome, saying, that he would give him hawks and dogs, and he caused him to pass that night with him. And on the morrow, Angus conducted him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for the Earl of Cassillis, who, riding all night, came thither the next day early in the morning; upon which he and the Earl of Angus went into a chamber together, and called Forster to them, who then declared the "occasion of his coming, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions." But Angus and Cassillis were as cunning and cautious as their English friends; and, as Sadler had made no specific proposal and fixed no certain reward, they would not speak to Forster of the murder,* but kept to the grand treason of co-operating with the English army of invasion. Cassillis said that he was still the same true man to Henry as he was at parting with his majesty; and Angus promised his cordial assistance, declaring that he would either go to the field or stay at home, as Henry judged it best. But on his departure, Cassillis gave Forster a letter, in cipher, to Sir Ralph Sadler; and Sir George Douglas, in his heat, was betrayed into the following expressions, which he sent as a message from himself to the Earl of Hertford:—"He willed me," says Forster, "to tell my lord-lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he saith, the common saying is, the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by what means that reward should be paid."† The revelation of these atrocious secrets, which had been concealed for centuries amidst the dust and cobwebs of

* Sir Ralph Sadler, in obedience to Henry's orders, recommended the assassination as if of himself, and told them that the project had *not* been communicated to King Henry.

† State Papers.

the State Paper Office, is enough to make the villains turn in their graves! As his majesty of England had still some sense of shame, he hesitated at committing himself so far as to make a direct bargain—he wished the deed done, but in such a manner, that it could never be brought clearly to his own door; and as the most noble Scots would not commit murder otherwise than as they had bargained, Beaton was permitted to live a few months longer, when he was taken off by less conspicuous assassins. Before the journey of Forster into Scotland, the Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie had arrived from France, with a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse; and in the month of August these foreign auxiliaries, well appointed and disciplined, took the field with an army of about twenty-five thousand Scots. By the advice of Beaton, the whole of this force was thrown across the English borders; but the vanguard was commanded by Angus, who, not a month before, had promised Forster to do what King Henry might think best; and after two days, which were ingloriously employed in plundering and burning a few villages, the army returned, through the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard.* That there might be no mistake in the matter, the lords in the interest of England wrote a letter to claim the whole credit of the failure of the expedition, and to advise the instant advance of an English army.†

On the 5th of September the English put themselves in motion under the Earl of Hertford; but the money-chests were empty; and, at the moment of crisis, several of the Scottish traitors hung back, and, instead of joining the English with all their retainers, they began to think of opposing them. They had requested that the old system of warfare might this time be abandoned; but Hertford burnt and destroyed even more savagely than before, employing on this work a vast number of Irish kerns, who had been brought over for the purpose. At

* Diurnal Occurrents.

† This letter appears in the State Papers.

Kelso the poor monks attempted to defend their abbey, and boldly repulsed some adventurers; but Hertford brought up his heavy guns, made a breach, and carried the church. Retreating to the tower or belfry, the monks there prolonged the struggle, but the tower was battered and stormed, and every monk butchered. As the savage invaders poured through Tweed-dale, the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh were again plundered and fired, and every village, every farm, castle, or mansion on the pleasant banks of that Scottish river was sacked and burnt. All this havoc was grateful to the sight of the noble Seymour, who wrote boastingly to his royal master, that he had done more damage in Scotland by fire than had been done for the last hundred years.* But this ruthless destroyer could not maintain himself even on the borders; his army soon felt the effects of the ruin they had spread around them; the country was become a desert, furnishing no food for man or horse; the impoverished government could forward no adequate supply of provisions; and in less than three weeks Hertford retreated and disbanded his starving forces.

The cardinal did not lose heart in the midst of these difficulties. After the retreat of Hertford, he held a parliament at Stirling, and suggested several energetic measures for the defence of the national independence. Seeing, however, the impoverishment and exhaustion of the country, he proposed passing over to France, in order to procure a fresh supply of money and troops. This project was communicated to Henry by one of the most unscrupulous of his agents, Crichton, the laird of Brunston, in a letter dated from Ormiston House, the 6th of October. After mentioning what is in the wind, the laird expresses some hopes that the intended journey of the cardinal may be cut short; for, that at no time were there more Scottish gentlemen desirous of doing his highness good service. A day or two after, this cautious assassin wrote to Lord Wharton, one of the English wardens, that he was very anxious for a private interview

* State Papers.

with him, that he might know whether his majesty would be plain with them *what he would have them do, and as to what reward they might count upon.* On the 20th of October he wrote to King Henry himself, requesting a private conference with Sadler at Berwick, where he would communicate such things as should be greatly to the advancing of his majesty's affairs.* From all this, it is very evident that the project for murdering Cardinal Beaton had been resumed. It has been usual for historians, wanting the light which has been recently thrown upon these long-hidden transactions, to attribute the assassination of Beaton solely to the fanaticism of certain converts to the new religion, and their desire of avenging the cruelties he had committed upon their persecuted sect; but it now appears very evident that the deed was undertaken and done from baser motives, though some who engaged in the plot at its last stage may have been moved by a desire of destroying the arch enemy of their faith.

George Wishart, commonly called the Martyr, was a man of obscure or uncertain birth, but of considerable learning. He had been patronised in his youth by John Erskine of Dun, provost of Montrose, one of the first Scotsmen that declared against the church of Rome. Wishart kept a school at Montrose, where he introduced the teaching of Greek, and made his pupils read the New Testament in the original language. On account of some persecution to which this exposed him, he fled into England, where, in 1538, in the city of Bristol, he preached against the worship paid to the Virgin Mary. In consequence, he was thrown into prison, and he only escaped the penalties of heresy by openly recanting, upon which a fagot was burnt instead of himself, and he disappeared from that part of the country. When he next attracted attention it was at Cambridge, where he was admired for his learning, and hated for his zeal and bitterness. Some time in 1543 he returned to his native country, where he denounced the Popish doings

* Tytler, from the originals in the State Paper Office.

of Cardinal Beaton, and most closely connected himself with those chiefs who leaned towards the Reformation, and who had sold themselves to the English court—namely, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Earl Marshall, Sir George Douglas, and the Lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, and Calder. Protected by these great lords and lairds, Wishart preached publicly against the errors of Popery and the wickedness of the monks; and his fiery eloquence inflamed the people in sundry places. At Dundee his converts or audience destroyed the houses of the black and grey friars; and when he preached at Edinburgh the religious houses were only saved by the prompt interference of the civil authority. In the ears of the people his denunciations of coming vengeance sounded very like prophecy; and when the Earl of Hertford set the south of Scotland in a blaze, it was remembered how the preacher had predicted that event. But these State Papers and other documents recently brought to light must deprive Wishart of the prophetic character. He was in the full confidence of the traitors who invited the English into the realm; and, when he spoke of the coming vengeance of heaven, he knew that King Henry was arming.

For two years the preacher was left at large, for it was not easy to seize one who was always surrounded by an armed host, and who never moved anywhere without being preceded by a trusty disciple bearing a two-handed sword, and watched by other followers with pikes, halberts, and morrions. It is said that Cardinal Beaton was to a certain degree aware of the plot laid against his own life, and that, in dread of Wishart, he attempted to anticipate him, and laid plots for murdering Wishart; but there is no good evidence of any kind to support the latter part of the assertion; and Beaton, though no mild or merciful man, was certainly not addicted to secret assassinations. After a time the preacher's popularity declined. Some of his great friends fell from his side, and he was obliged to take refuge in West Lothian with the Laird of Brunston, Sandilands of Calder, and Cockburn of Ormiston, who concealed him by turns in their

houses. One night when he was at Ormiston with his friends, expecting the arrival of the Earl of Cassillis, the house was suddenly surrounded by a party of soldiers led by the Earl of Bothwell, who was then devoted to the cardinal. Upon an assurance that his life would be spared, Wishart surrendered. Bothwell took the preacher to his own house of Hailes; but soon after he sold him to Beaton, who summoned a council of the bishops and abbots at St. Andrew's, and brought him to trial as a heretic. The assembled clergy found him guilty, and sentenced him to be burnt, and he was burnt accordingly at St. Andrew's. This execution was as impolitic as it was barbarous: the dead Wishart became more formidable than the living preacher; many of his converts, quoting the Old Testament, showed how it would be a virtue to avenge his death, and cut off his wicked persecutor and destroyer; and Cassillis, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas, and their fellow-conspirators, derived great strength from the popular feeling excited against the cardinal, which feeling, however, was confined to certain towns and districts, the vast majority of the nation being as yet attached to the old religion, and seeing nothing very remarkable in the burning of a man who attacked its dogmas.

Being alarmed at the threats of his enemies in Scotland, and rumours of a fresh invasion, Beaton immediately employed masons and carpenters to strengthen his Castle of St. Andrew's. He also called around him the gentlemen of Fife, to concert means for the defence of the coast. At one of these meetings he had a violent quarrel about a piece of land with Norman Lesly, commonly called the Master of Rothes. After using language not likely to be forgiven, Norman hurried to his uncle, John Lesly, who had already declared that Beaton's blood ought to be shed for the blood of the martyr Wishart. Both uncle and nephew consulted with William Kirkaldy, the laird of Grange, with James Melville, a religious enthusiast, with Carmichael, and with several others; and at a secret conclave it was determined that the cardinal should die forthwith. On the evening of the 28th of May, Norman

Lesly rode into the town of St. Andrew's, and in the course of the night he was followed by a whole troop, who stole into the town in small parties, without being perceived, or without exciting any suspicion. At an early hour on the following morning, they surprised the castle by entering with the workmen, and the cardinal was roused from his sleep to meet his death. John Lesly and Carmichael appear to have been the first to stab him, and then Melville, with great gravity, advanced to execute what he called "the judgment of God," and passed his long sword through the body of the unresisting victim several times. Then covered with the blood of the cardinal, the conspirators, who had taken care to raise the draw-bridge and close the gates, ascended to the battlements to address the people of the town, who now, headed by their provost, crowded in alarm around the castle, and shouted that they must restore the lord cardinal. Norman Lesly dragged up the body, and suspended it by a sheet over the wall. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now that ye are satisfied get home to your houses!" Kirkaldy of Grange, Norman Lesly, and others of the conspirators were at the moment receiving pensions from the English king—were described by Henry as his good friends and supporters; and almost as soon as the murder was finished, they opened communications with the king, offered to hold the castle for his behoof, and received from him assurances of assistance and support.*

But though the death of Cardinal Beaton was fatal to the Roman church in Scotland, the event was not followed by all that Henry had fondly expected from it. The embarrassments of his government increased daily; and in the month of June he was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the French king, who insisted that Scotland should be comprehended in it.

The six remaining months of Henry's life were occupied by vile attempts at devising reasons for excluding the Scots from the benefit of the treaty of peace, by the intrigues and struggles of the two great religious factions,

* Tytler.

and by more executions for treason. The most wretched being, in this most wretched state of things, was the king himself, whose mind and body were alike diseased. In the absence of other pleasures he had given himself up to immoderate eating, and he had grown so enormously fat that he could not pass through an ordinary door, nor could he move about from room to room without the help of machinery, or of numerous attendants. The old issue in his leg had become an inveterate ulcer, which kept him in a constant state of pain and excessive irritability. It was alike offensive to the senses and dangerous to life and property to approach this corrupt mass of dying tyranny. The slightest thing displeased him, and his displeasure was a fury and a madness, and nothing on earth could give him a wholesome pleasurable feeling. How his last wife, Catherine Parr, escaped destruction appears almost miraculous; she was more than once in imminent peril. The court, which no longer presented any of the pageantries and gaieties of earlier days, had become a gloomy conventicle, where men and women too gave themselves up to polemics. Catherine ventured to read some of the prohibited works put forth by the Reformers, and as the king grew worse and worse, and more and more helpless, she took courage to dispute with him upon faith and doctrine. Henry was greatly exasperated. "A good hearing this," cried he, "when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." Gardiner, it is said, took advantage of this state of mind, and received orders, with Wriothesley the chancellor, to prepare articles of impeachment against her. But Catherine was warned in time, and adroitly recovered by flattery the ground she had lost by venturing upon polemical controversy. On the following morning, when the chancellor Wriothesley came with forty men of the guard to take Catherine into custody, the king's majesty called him knave, an arrant knave, a fool, and a beast, and so dismissed him.*

There had long been a bitter rivalry between the old

* Lord Herbert.

House of Howard and the new House of Seymour, which owed its sudden exaltation to the king's third marriage and the birth of a son, Prince Edward, by Jane Seymour. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the Howards, was, as we have repeatedly noticed, a zealous Papist: Lord Hertford, the uncle of Prince Edward, and the real founder of the greatness of the Seymours, almost as a natural consequence, leaned towards the Reformation, though he took good care to conceal this fact from the king. The two names became rallying points to the two rival sects. With the evidence we have before us we may confidently pronounce them both to have been men of a cruel and base character, ready to execute if not to suggest some of the worst actions of the king, and to crawl in the dust at his feet at the slightest sign of his displeasure; but the real nature of both has been overlooked by their respective sects. Hertford, in family alliances, connexions, and landed property, was far the inferior of Norfolk, but he had the grand advantages of being uncle of the heir to the throne, and of being almost constantly about the court. Favoured by these circumstances, he already aspired to the protectorship of the kingdom during the minority of his nephew; for, though the fact was concealed from the public with all possible care, it was evident that the king was hastening to the grave.*

Hertford felt that the grand obstacle to his promotion would be found in the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the accomplished and poetical Earl of Surrey; and mere self-preservation gave him a strong motive to destroy both father and son while there was yet time. Henry, earl of Surrey, upon being superseded in a military command in France by the new man Hertford (and Surrey always

* The first notice of the king's failing health—a subject on which Henry was so jealous that those around him seem to have been afraid of mentioning it in writing to their colleagues—occurs in a letter from Yetsweirt to Sir William Paget, dated the 17th of September, 1546. But, in this letter, it is added that his Majesty was recovered.—*State Papers.*

expressed a great contempt of the new nobility), was excessively irritated; and it is said that he vowed revenge upon Hertford as soon as the king should be dead. Nothing was so easy as to excite the jealousies and fears of Henry,—fears probably increased by the reflection that Hertford, who would be in a manner the natural guardian of his son, was without influence among the high nobility, and was at enmity with Norfolk, the most powerful of them all. There were also men in the king's council, who were Protestants in their hearts, and (as such) ready to go great lengths against the champions of the rival faith. The first blow was struck at Bishop Gardiner, but it was warded off by that prelate. A few days after, on the 12th of December, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, "upon certain surmises of treason," were sent to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other. From his dungeon, Norfolk, ignorant of the cause of his sudden seizure, wrote to the king. "Undoubtedly," said the duke, "I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries." On the 13th day of January, when the king was lying dangerously sick, the gallant and accomplished Surrey, who appears to have been dreaded more than his aged father, was arraigned at Guildhall on a charge of treason, for having borne the royal arms of Edward the Confessor mixed and quartered with the coat of his own family. It may seem strange that no more serious charge should be produced; but even this much had been obtained in the most nefarious manner, and in part by means which are not calculated to raise our very low estimate of the domestic virtues of those times. The court, preparatory to the trial, had terrified and tampered with the women of the Howard family. The Duchess of Norfolk had long been on bad terms with her husband, living separated from him; and one of her daughters, the Duchess of Richmond, bore an unnatural hatred to her brother Surrey. On Sunday night, the 12th of December, immediately after

the arrest of the duke and his son, Gate, Southwell, and Carew were despatched with all haste to Kuming Hall (seven miles from Thetford), the principal house of the Howards, and they arrived there by break of day on Tuesday, "so that the first news of the Duke of Norfolk and the son came thither by them."* After taking care "of all the gates and back-doors," they desired to speak with the Duchess of Richmond and her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, who were found "at that time newly risen, and not ready." The two ladies, however, appeared in the dining-chamber without delay, and the court agents imparted to them "the case and condition wherein the duke and his son, without the king's great mercy, did stand." "Wherewith," continue these respectable gentlemen, "we found the Duchess of Richmond a woman sore perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down; but, coming unto herself again, she was not, we assure your majesty, forgetful of her duty, and did most humbly and reverently, upon her knees, humble herself in all unto your highness; saying that, although nature constrained her sore to love her father and also to desire the well-doing of his son, her natural brother, whom she noteth to be a rash man, yet for her part she would, nor will, hide or conceal anything from your majesty's knowledge, specially if it be of weight, or otherwise, as it shall fall in her remembrance; which she hath promised, for the better declaration of her integrity, to exhibit in writing unto your highness and your honourable council." They then tell the king, whom they address directly, that they desired sight of the chambers and coffers, and got the keys from the Duchess of Richmond. They go on to express their disappointment at the poorness of the prize; but we suspect that, in all these domiciliary visits, the agents concealed a portion of the spoils, and kept it for themselves. "Her coffers and chambers be so bare as your majesty would hardly think; her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage (pawn), to pay her debts, as she, her maiden, and the almoner do

* State Papers.

say. We will, nevertheless, for our duty, make a further and more earnest search." When they had done with the duchess's chambers and coffers, they searched those of Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, her sister, where they found divers girdles, beads, buttons of gold, pearls, and rings set with stones of divers sorts, whereof with all other things, they were, they say, making inventories to be sent to his highness. They also report that, having made sure of the house and property at Kuming Hall, they with all speed, and at one instant, sent some of their most discreet and trusty servants to all the other houses of the duke in Norfolk and Suffolk, not omitting the house of his daughter, Elizabeth Holland, "newly made in Suffolk, which was thought to be well furnished with stuff." The duke's almoner had engaged to deliver into their hands all, or the greater part, of the family plate, "but money of the duke had none, but supposes that the steward upon his last account had such as did remain." As another important duty the agents had informed themselves as to the clear value of the duke's possessions, and all other his yearly revenue, as near as they could learn, by his books of account and other his records. The Duchess of Richmond and Mrs. Elizabeth Holland they had taken into custody, and would send on their journey towards London on the morrow; but they represented that there remained unattached in the house the Earl of Surrey's wife and children, with certain women in the nursery attending upon them, and they humbly besought his majesty to signify what they were to do with the servants, seeing that the said earl's wife was near her time, and expecting to lie in at Candlemas.*

The Duchess of Norfolk was arrested near London, and the three ladies were "travailled with" and examined by some of the council. But though the wife was ready to speak against the husband—the sister against the brother—their depositions amounted to almost nothing. The Duchess of Richmond said that she had heard her brother Surrey speak bitterly against

* State Papers.

the Earl of Hertford, and these women also stated (what was notorious to all) that Norfolk and his son had quartered the arms of the Duke of Buckingham, a lineal descendant from Edward III.* When the council could get no more from the women, they set forward the evidence of two obscure men, who asserted that the Earl of Surrey had entertained certain Italians who were suspected of being spies; that the Duke of Norfolk had expressed great dissatisfaction at the changes in the church, had spoken about the king's diseases, and greatly abused some of the new nobility.

Before the court at Guildhall, Surrey, who, in the words of Lord Herbert, "was a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage," made a most spirited and eloquent defence. And the cause he had to plead was most simple. He admitted that he had borne the arms of Edward the Confessor, but he exhibited a decision of the heralds which allowed him so to do; and he told them (what most of them must have known perfectly) that he had borne those arms for years, even in the king's presence, without giving any offence. Notwithstanding all this, the court pronounced that there was proof sufficient, in the fact of his wearing the arms, that he had aspired to the throne; and the jury, doing their duty as usual, found him guilty. "And so the flower of the English nobility was, on the 19th of January, beheaded, the king being then in extremity, and breathing his *last* in blood."†

* Norfolk had done this in right of his wife, who was daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, executed in the early part of this reign.

† Godwin.—There were other grounds of suspicion against Surrey which it was thought proper to suppress in public. He was suspected of a design upon the king's daughter, the Princess Mary! In the State Papers there is a remarkable document, without title or date, in the hand-writing of Wriothesley, the chancellor, with interlineations written by the king himself, in a tremulous hand. It consists of a set of queries evidently preparatory to the prosecution of the Howards.

Norfolk, from his cell in the Tower, repeatedly requested to be confronted with his accusers, either before his royal majesty, or, if his pleasure should not be to take that pains, then before his council. But it may be questioned whether his letters ever reached the king, who, at the moment (though not aware of it), "was feeling the inevitable necessity of death;" and it had been fully determined, by the Seymours and others who surrounded the bed of the expiring tyrant, that no more justice or leniency should be shown to the duke, than *he*, in his days of favour and might, had meted out to others. After several private examinations, the duke, upon some promises tendered to him in the name of the king, consented to write or sign a confession. But even in this document there was nothing that could reasonably be construed into treason; for he only admitted that, during his long and difficult services, he had occasionally communicated to others some of the secrets of the privy council, contrary to his oath; that he had concealed the treasonable act of his son, in assuming the arms of Edward the Confessor; and that he had himself treasonably borne on his shield the arms of England, with the difference of labels of silver, which of right belonged only to Prince Edward. The Seymour party, who had got from Henry a promise that the spoils of Howard should be shared amongst them, and whose promises to the duke were only meant to extract the confession, thought this matter sufficient upon which to proceed to judgment. Norfolk, however, who was well practised in business of this kind, knew perfectly well that, if his estates were divided among many, his family would find a great difficulty in getting them back in case of a reversal of his attainder, and he sent a petition to the king, to implore, as a favour, that all his "good and stately gear" might be settled on Prince Edward. This petition was not likely to disarm the enmity of the rival party. Instead of arraigning him before his peers, they proceeded by the system which Cromwell had introduced, and by which Cromwell had himself suffered. A bill of attainder, founded on the confession,

was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times on three successive days.* The Commons did their work with equal dispatch—returning the bill, passed, in three days more. It had been usual, even in these murderous times, to wait till the close of the session for the royal assent to such bills of attainder; but two days after the bill had passed, the king grew so much worse, that Norfolk's enemies saw there was no time to lose; and, accordingly, on the 27th of January, Wriothesley, the chancellor, informed the two Houses of Parliament that his majesty had been pleased to appoint certain lords to signify his assent to the bill. And thereupon the commission, under the sign manual, was read; the royal assent was given by the lords appointed; and, without losing precious moments, an order was dispatched to the lieutenant of the Tower to execute the Duke of Norfolk at an early hour on the following morning.†

But by the good fortune of Norfolk, and many a better man, the tyrant died in the intervening night. His last scene of all has been very differently represented by the opposite sects; but the account usually inserted in our histories is supported by respectable authority, and is—at least in part—very like truth. As several persons had been put to death at various times for saying the king was dying or likely to die, the people about him were afraid to tell him of his true condition; and the Seymour party had strong motives for concealing his danger both from himself and the public as long as possible. The physicians, on the approach of certain

* On the 18th, 19th, and 20th of January.

† Journals.—Burnet. The Journals of the Lords (the best, and an unquestionable authority) prove Burnet to be wrong in stating that Cranmer, to avoid concurring in the act of attainder, withdrew to Croydon before the bill was introduced. The primate was in the House of Lords *every* day that the bill was read—nay, he was even there on the 27th of January, when Wriothesley read the royal assent. Thus, he could only have left town a few hours when he was called back to attend the expiring monarch.

symptoms, wished his courtiers—friends he had none—to warn him of his state; but they all hung back in affright, like unarmed men in the presence of a wounded and dying beast of prey. At last Sir Anthony Denny undertook the task, and, going directly to the bed-side of the fainting monarch, told him, that the hope of human help was vain, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to heaven,—an advice not very acceptable to him: but finding it was grounded upon the opinion of his physicians, he submitted to the hard law of necessity, and, reflecting upon the course of his life, which he much condemned, he still professed himself confident that, through Christ, all his sins, though they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. He was then asked whether he desired to confer with any divines? "With none other," said he, "but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him yet; I will first repose myself a little, and, as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." After a sleep, or stupor, of an hour or two, he felt that he was going; and then he commanded that the archbishop should be sent for in all haste. Cranmer, after being present in the House of Lords on the three several days on which the iniquitous bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk was read, had retired for quiet to Croydon, where he was on the evening when he received the royal summons. He posted to court with all possible speed, but before he arrived the king was speechless. It is added that, when he bent over the bed, Henry grasped his hand; that, then, Cranmer exhorted him to hope for God's mercy through Christ, on which the king grasped his hand as hard as he could, and expired a few moments after, having lived fifty-five years and seven months, and reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.*

It is generally set down, somewhat vaguely, in our annals, that the party which succeeded to power did not think it advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the

* Bishop Godwin.

blood of the first nobleman of England; but, from the character of the majority of those men, we are inclined to believe that they were deterred merely by the dread of consequences to themselves in case of a failure of their schemes. If Henry had lived two or three hours longer the head of Norfolk would have been upon the block; but, then, it might have been made to pass as the act of a living king. As it was, Norfolk was respited, and the sentence was never carried into effect, although the aged duke remained in confinement till the accession of Queen Mary. If, in the course of this narrative, our views of certain historical characters, and of their motives of action, be found to vary somewhat from those of preceding writers, the reader should bear in mind that those views have been opened to us and illuminated by the unerring light of the STATE PAPERS.

EDWARD VI.

A.D. 1547.—Although King Henry had breathed his last at an early hour on the morning of Friday, the 28th of January, it is remarkable that the parliament, which, as the law then stood, was dissolved by his death, met, pursuant to adjournment, on Saturday the 29th, and proceeded to business as usual. In fact, the demise of the crown was kept concealed till Monday the 31st, when it was announced to the two Houses, assembled together, by the Chancellor Wriothesley. The news, according to the entry in the Lords' Journals, "was unspeakably sad and sorrowful to all the hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words." They soon, however, it is added, "composed their lamentations and consoled their griefs" by calling to mind the promise of excellence already held out by the youthful successor to the throne. The same rapid transition "from grave to gay," the ordinary formality on such occasions, was observed in like manner at the first meeting of the privy council with the new king.

It is hard to believe that, either in high places or in low, any other feeling than a sense of relief and of freer breathing could have been produced by the dissolution of so terrible a tyranny as that of Henry VIII. had latterly become. It has been the fashion with our historians to hold forth this king, the storm of whose selfish passions fortunately chanced to throw down or to shake some old and strong abuses that might not otherwise have been so readily got rid of, as the object of the love and pride of his subjects, as well as of the respect of foreign nations, to the last. His position and the circumstances of the time must have always given him an importance abroad, and made his movements be watched with considerable anxiety, which would not be diminished by his

extreme wilfulness, and the suddenness of those gusts of temper and inclination that chiefly determined his course, although the very same causes impaired his real power of being either serviceable or formidable to his neighbours. But, at home, no higher sentiment than one of self-interest can well be supposed to have attached anybody to so sanguinary and heartless a despot; and it is evident that an oppressive fear and bewilderment was the state into which his ferocious rule had thrown the generality of men in all classes. We see this alike in the prostrate servility of the parliament, and in the silent, despairing submission, after the failure of one or two convulsive local revolts, of the great body of the people. His son Edward, indeed, has set it down in his Journal,* that when "the death of his father was showed in London," the same day on which the announcement was made to parliament, there "was great lamentation and weeping;" and he had no doubt been informed that such was the case, or, possibly, with a simplicity natural to his age and station, he took it for granted that it could not have been otherwise. But it would have been interesting to be told by which of the two great parties that divided the population Henry was thus regretted,—by the adherents of the Roman church, or by the friends of the new opinions. The former could hardly have remembered him with any feelings that would find their vent in tears; to the latter the accession of the new king was the dawning of a fresh day from which they had everything to hope.

Edward, when the crown thus descended upon his head, had entered his tenth year, having been born, as above related, on the 12th of October, 1537. He had been "brought up," as he tells us himself, "till he came to six years old, among the women." He was then placed

* Printed by Burnet, in his History of the Reformation (Appendix of Records to vol. ii.), from the original, in the king's own hand, preserved in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero, C. 10.

under the tuition of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke, "two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences." Another of the persons intrusted with the direction of his education, according to Strype, was Sir Anthony Cook, "famous for his five learned daughters." He had also masters for the French language and other accomplishments. In all these studies he had made an uncommon progress for his years, and had been distinguished for a docility and diligence that would have been remarkable even in one who was not a prince and heir to a throne. "He was so forward in his learning," says Burnet, "that, before he was eight years old, he wrote Latin letters to his father, who was a prince of that stern severity that one can hardly think that those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him."* All Prince Edward's tutors were favourers of the reformed opinions in religion, to which also his mother had been attached; and they had been perfectly successful in instilling their own views into the mind of their pupil, who, even in his early boyhood, was already a very zealous if not a learned theologian.

Edward, when his father died, was residing at Hertford,† whither his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Thomas Brown, master of the horse, immediately proceeded, and, having brought him to Enfield, there announced the event to him and his sister Elizabeth.‡

The grief of the new king did not last long, any more than that of his subjects. He entered London on the afternoon of Monday, the 31st, on the morning of which the news of Henry's decease had been made public and

* Some of the early Latin letters of Prince Edward to his father and others may be found in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, and are reprinted in Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters Illustrative of English History. Others are in Fox's Martyrology, and in Fuller's Church History.

† So he tells us himself, in his Journal. Holinshed, whom some late writers have followed, says he was at Hatfield.

‡ Life and Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet, ii. 275.

his own accession proclaimed, and, amid a great concourse of the nobility and others, took his way straight to the Tower.*

The next day after the king came to the Tower, being Tuesday, the 1st of February, the greater part of the nobility, both spiritual and temporal, assembled about three o'clock in the afternoon, in the Presence Chamber, where, after they had all knelt and kissed his majesty's hand, saying every one of them, "God save your grace!" the Lord Chancellor proceeded to declare the purport of the deceased king's last will and testament, which, however, had been in part read to the parliament the day before. It appeared that Henry had nominated the following sixteen persons to be his executors, and to hold the office of governors of his son and of the kingdom till Edward should have completed his eighteenth year:—Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Wriothesley, baron Wriothesley, the lord chancellor; William Paulet, baron St. John, master of the household; John Russell, baron Russell, lord privy seal; Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, lord great chamberlain; John Dudley, viscount Lisle, lord admiral; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Thomas Bromley, one of the justices of the king's bench; Sir Anthony Denny and Sir John Herbert, gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Nicolas Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these were added twelve others, under the name of a Privy Council: they were, Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel; William Parr, earl of Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich; Sir John Baker; Sir Ralph Sadler;

* Eccles. Mem. ii. 21. Strype quotes as his authority for these details an official record in the Heralds' College.

Sir Thomas Seymour; Sir Richard Southwell; and Sir Edmund Peckham. These latter, however, were to have no real power or authority, their functions being limited to the simple right of giving their opinion or advice when it was asked for. After he had recited the names of the council of government, the chancellor made an announcement which was more important, and must have made a greater sensation among his hearers than anything he had yet communicated.

From the first prospect of the new reign, the Earl of Hertford, the uncle of the young king that was to be, had begun to intrigue and lay his plans for securing to himself the chief place in the government. The following anecdote is related by Strype:—"While King Henry lay on his death-bed in his palace at Westminster, Sir Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at court; and Paget, being Secretary of State, was much about his person, whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the king's desperate condition the earl, well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward's (his nephew's) head, before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery, where he held some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the king was departed, they met again, the earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young king. Paget at both meetings freely and at large gave him his advice, for the safe managery of himself and of the mighty trust likely to be reposed in him; and the earl then promised him to follow his counsels in all his proceedings more than any other man's."* At the first meeting of the executors after the king's death Hertford had succeeded in achieving the object of his ambition. When it was proposed that, for the more convenient dis-

* Ec. Mem. ii. 16.

patch of business, one of their number should be appointed merely to be a sort of representative or mouthpiece of the whole, such an arrangement was objected to by the Chancellor Wriothesley, who contended that it would be a violation of the will, which made them all equal, but who at the same time probably hoped to be able, without any formal appointment, to get into his own hands the chief power in the government by means simply of the eminent office he filled. He was also well aware who the president would be if one should be elected, and that with such a choice the whole policy of the government would be turned against the interest to which he attached himself; for Wriothesley was now accounted the head of the Catholic party, as Hertford was the strength and hope of the Protestants. The chancellor, however, seems to have stood alone, or nearly alone, in his opposition; on seeing which he gave up the point, and consented to go along with his colleagues; and in the end, after short debate, the Earl of Hertford was unanimously nominated Protector of the Realm and Governor of the king's person, the paramount authority implied in, and necessarily conveyed by, these high titles being, however, vainly enough, attempted to be limited by the condition that he should not do any act without the advice and consent of the majority of the executors. The chancellor now announced to the nobility assembled around the king in the Presence Chamber that all the executors had agreed "that the Earl of Hertford should be governor of the young king during his nonage." "Whereupon all the said lords made answer in one voice, that there was none so meet for the same in all the realm as he; and said also that they were well content withal."* The boy-king then returned them thanks, from himself, by which he may be understood to have intimated his assent to what the executors had done.

Hertford and his associates, however, had a great deal more to do for themselves than they had yet accomplished. A strange clause appeared in Henry's will,

* Strype, Ec. Mem. ii. 21.

requiring them to make good all that he had promised in any manner of way; and it was affirmed that he had reiterated this injunction verbally, with great earnestness, to those of them who were in attendance upon him while he lay on his death-bed. When the matter came to be inquired into, it was found that these unperformed engagements, or rather intentions (for in most cases they do not seem to have amounted to promises), of the deceased king, nearly all regarded certain additional honours and other good things which he meant to bestow upon the executors themselves. Such at least was the testimony of Paget, Denny, and Herbert, to whom alone it appeared that he had communicated the particulars. Burnet gives the following account: — "Paget declared that when the evidence appeared against the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, the king, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him that he intended to bestow their lands liberally; and since, by attainders and other ways, the nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some peers, and ordered him to write a book of such as he thought meetest." Paget then proposed that the Earl of Hertford should be made a duke, and named, besides, a number of other persons who should be ennobled, or raised to a higher rank in the peerage. He "also proposed a distribution of the Duke of Norfolk's estate; but the king liked it not, and made Mr. Gates bring him the books of that estate, which being done, he ordered Paget 'to tot upon the Earl of Hertford' (these are the words of his deposition) 1000 marks; on the Lords Lisle, St. John, and Russell, 200*l.* a-year; to the Lord Wriothesley, 100*l.*; and for Sir Thomas Seymour, 300*l.* a-year; but Paget said it was too little, and stood long arguing it with him. . . . . And he, putting the king in mind of Denny, who had been oft a suitor for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained anything for Denny; the king ordered 200*l.* for him and 400 marks for Sir William Herbert, and remembered some other likewise." Some of the persons that were mentioned for promotion, however, on being spoken to, desired to remain in their

present ranks, on the ground that the lands the king proposed to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the honours to be conferred on them; and other circumstances also induced the king to change his mind as to some points. At last, after many consultations, the matter was finally settled as follows: "The Earl of Hertford to be Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, and to be Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son to be Earl of Wiltshire, with 800*l.* a-year of land, and 300*l.* a-year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the Earl of Essex to be Marquess of Essex; the Viscount Lisle to be Earl of Coventry; the Lord Wriothesley to be Earl of Winchester; Sir Thomas Seymour to be a baron and Lord Admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John St. Leger, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, and Sir Christopher Danby, to be barons, with yearly revenues to them and several other persons. And having, at the suit of Sir Edward North, promised to give the Earl of Hertford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships, at his (the duke's) suit, he (the king) agreed that a deanery and a treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries." Paget's testimony was confirmed in all points by Denny and Herbert, who said, that when the secretary left the chamber the king had told them the substance of what had passed between them, and had made Denny read the particulars as set down in writing. "Whereupon," it is added, "Herbert observed, that the secretary had remembered all but himself; to which the king answered he should not forget him; and ordered Denny to write 400*l.* a-year for him." Thus one of these disinterested friends was always at hand, at the moment of need, to help another. The executors now resolved to fulfil their late master's intentions, both, as Burnet puts it, "out of conscience to the king's will, and for their own honours"—that is, we must suppose, for the sake of the honours and profits that would thereby accrue to them. They were in some difficulty about finding the means of paying the various pecuniary allowances, being unwilling, it seems, to sell the royal jewels or plate, or

otherwise to diminish the king's treasure or revenue, in case of a war with France or the emperor; but they eventually found a resource in the sale of the chantry lands. Most of the new peerages designed by Henry were conferred, only in most cases other titles were chosen. Essex became Marquess of Northampton; Lisle, Earl of Warwick; Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour was made Baron Seymour of Sudley and Lord High Admiral; Rich became Baron Rich; Willoughby, Baron Willoughby; Sheffield, Baron Sheffield. St. Leger and Danby declined both peerage and pension. As for Hertford, he "grew," to borrow the expression of his admirer, Strype, "an exceeding great man, swelling with titles." "This," proceeds the historian, "was his style: The Most Noble and Victorious Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seymour, Governor of the person of the King's Majesty, and Protector of all his Realms, his Lieutenant-general of all his armies both by land and by sea, Lord High Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, Governor of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter." "*Because* he was thus great," it is added, however, "so he also was a very generous and good man, and a sincere favourer of the gospel; he was entirely beloved of those that professed it, and for the most part by the populacy; and, therefore, was commonly called *The Good Duke.*"* Burnet admits, that "when it was known abroad what a distribution of honour and wealth the council had resolved on, it was much censured; many saying that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead king of all his treasure, but that the first step of their proceedings in their new trust was, to provide honours and estates for themselves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their pretensions till the king had come to be of age." He even goes the length of insinuating that there was much reason for doubting the whole story of Paget and

* Ec. Mem. ii. 24.

his fellow-deponents, inasmuch as the will on which they pretended to found it bore date on the 30th of December, whereas their account appeared to imply that it was not drawn up till nearly a month later, when Henry was on his death-bed.*

The ceremonies of burying the old, and crowning the new king, were the first affairs that occupied the government. King Henry, after lying in state at Whitehall till the 14th of February, was removed to Sion House, and thence to Windsor, where he was interred in St. George's Chapel, on the 16th, with extraordinary magnificence.† Four days after the funeral of Henry, the coronation of his son took place in Westminster Abbey, in a manner varied in some respects from the ancient form, partly, as it was declared in the order or program, "for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtsome peradventure to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age, fully to endure and bide out; and also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowable." The most material innovation, however, was in the commencing ceremony, in which, instead of the king, as heretofore, first taking the oath to preserve the liberties of the realm, and being then presented to the people, who were asked by the archbishop if they were willing to accept him and obey him as their liege lord, the order of the oath and the presentation was reversed—the former not being administered till after the king had been shown by the archbishop, whose address to the people also, as Burnet has observed, was couched "in such terms as should demonstrate he was no elective prince; for he, being declared the rightful and undoubted heir, both by the laws of God and man, they were desired to give their good wills and assents to the same, as by their duty of allegiance they were bound to do." As usual, a general

* Dr. Lingard has advanced the same objection, without noticing that he had been anticipated by Burnet.

† See the account printed by Strype at full length, in Ec. Mem. vi. 266—291.

pardon for state offenders was proclaimed, from which, however, were excepted, along with a few other names, those of the Duke of Norfolk and Cardinal Pole.

The "Good Duke," with all his eminence of station and sounding titles, was far from being yet satisfied with the position he had attained. So long as the chancellor continued a member of the council, Somerset must have felt that his exercise of supreme power would be subject to a constant check; and the crafty Southampton (Wriothesley), on the other hand, seems to have been by no means thrown into despair, or any thought of abandoning his post, by his discomfiture in their first trial of strength. In fact, it may be said to have been the eagerness with which he allowed himself to be carried away and absorbed by his political functions, that brought about his ruin. "Resolving," as Burnet says, "to give himself wholly to matters of state," in order that he might have time to attend the daily meetings of the council, on the 18th of February, without consulting his colleagues in the government, he put the great seal to a commission in the king's name, empowering four masters of his court, or any two of them, to hear all manner of causes in his absence, and giving to their decrees the same force as if they had been pronounced by himself, on condition only that they should be signed by him before their enrolment. This act of imprudence was immediately pounced upon by the opposite party; the subject was referred to the judges, who declared that the chancellor had committed an offence against the king which was punishable at common law with the loss of office, and fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure. Southampton, after an attempt to maintain the legality of the commission, offered to submit to have it revoked, if it were deemed illegal; but these terms of accommodation were of course rejected; and, at last, on the 6th of March, the council resolved that the great seal should be taken from him, and that he should, in the mean time, be confined to his residence at Ely House, and be fined as should be afterwards thought fitting. He remained a prisoner in his own house for nearly four months, and was only then

discharged after he had entered into a recognisance of 4000*l.*, to pay whatever fine should be imposed upon him. "Thus fell the lord chancellor," says Burnet; "and in him the Popish party lost their chief support, and the protector his most emulous rival." Burnet acknowledges that the proceedings against him "were summary and severe, beyond the usage of the privy council, and without the common forms of legal processes."

The next measure of the protector was to take into his own hands the entire power of the executive government. A week after the ejection of Southampton, by a commission running in the king's name, and signed by himself and his friends Cranmer, St. John, Russell, Northampton, Cheyney, Paget, and Brown, the duke was declared Governor of the king and Protector of the kingdom, without any participation on the part of the council, which was, indeed, dissolved, by the members being united in a new council with the twelve persons who had been appointed to be their advisers by Henry's will, and the whole being now constituted a mere council of advice, the protector being at the same time empowered to add to their numbers to any extent he pleased. In other words, Somerset was invested with the whole of the royal authority, and, in everything save the name, made King of England.

The frame of the government at home being thus settled, the attention of the protector was immediately called to foreign affairs. The treaty of Campes (7th June, 1546) had, as already related, both established peace with France and suspended active hostilities with the Scots, although Henry had continued to keep up a secret intercourse with the Protestants in Scotland, as the party opposed to the government of the Earl of Arran, and had, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, openly sent supplies to the authors of that atrocity, whom Arran was in vain endeavouring to dislodge from the castle of St. Andrew's. Henry, on his death-bed, is said to have enjoined the lords of his council that they should leave nothing undone to bring about the marriage between his son and the infant Queen of Scots, on which he had so

strongly set his heart; and his desire no doubt was that they should pursue that object, as he himself would have done had he lived, either, as opportunity and circumstances might seem to invite, by negotiation and intrigue, or by a "rougher wooing." Somerset, accordingly, now addressed a letter to the Scottish nobility, strongly urging upon them the policy as well as the obligation of fulfilling "the promises, seals, and oaths, which, by public authority, had passed for concluding this marriage."* This appeal, however, produced little effect upon the party that now predominated in Scotland. In fact, immediately after this, hostilities between the two countries recommenced, with an encounter between an English vessel called the Pansy, commanded by Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and the Lion, "a principal ship of Scotland."†

Both countries were already making preparations for a war on a greater scale, when an event happened that materially affected their position towards each other. Francis I. died at Rambouillet on the 31st March; thus surviving by little more than two months the King of England, with whom he had been so constantly connected, either as a friend or an enemy, for more than thirty years. Since the accession of Edward, however, arrangements had been made for having the late alliance between the two crowns renewed; and the treaty had, in fact, been concluded at London, and wanted only to be formally ratified by Francis at the time of his death. That heaviest blow, as it was considered at the moment, that could have befallen the Protestant cause on the continent, enabling the emperor, as it did, to carry everything before him for a time both in Germany and in Italy, soon appeared likely to be no less disastrous to the same interest in Scotland. Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, preserved for a little while a show of amicable intercourse with England; but it was sufficiently evident from the first what course he was about to take. Under the control of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain,

* See an abstract of the letter in Hayward. † Ibid.

the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, who now, along with Arran, stood at the head of the Catholic party and of the established government in that country, the politics of the new king of France immediately evinced a complete return to the old system of a close alliance with the Scots, as affording the most effective means of annoying and embarrassing England. When the treaty of London was presented to Henry, he refused to sign it; and soon after he openly took part in the war on the side of the Scottish government by sending a fleet of sixteen galleys, under the command of Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, to assist the regent in reducing the castle of St. Andrew's. Arran, after lying for five months before this fortress, had made a truce with the garrison in February: and when the French galleys arrived, in the end of June, he was engaged on a plundering expedition beyond the western marches, from which, however, he hastened home, bringing with him, according to the Scottish historians, a great booty, as soon as he heard that the foreign auxiliaries had made their appearance. Meanwhile, the holders of the castle in the beginning of March had concluded two treaties with the English protector, by which they bound themselves by every means in their power to procure the marriage of the infant Queen of Scotland with King Edward, and engaged to give their best aid to an English army which should be forthwith sent to Scotland to obtain possession of the queen. It was also stipulated that as soon as that object should be effected they should deliver the castle to the commissioners of the English king. But the force that was now brought against them soon put an end to all hope of their continuing to hold out. A blockade by sea, cutting off their usual supplies, was now added to a much more skilful and effective bombardment from the land than Arran's Scottish engineers had been able to direct against them in the former siege; at last, on the 29th of July, a great breach was made, and on the following day the besieged, among whom, to add to their other straits and sufferings, a pestilential sickness had for some time been making considerable ravages, agreed to capitulate

on condition only that their lives should be spared, and that they should be conveyed to France. Arran recovered his eldest son, whom the murderers of the cardinal had found in the castle, and whom they had detained in captivity during the fourteen months they had held the place. Among the prisoners carried to France was the famous John Knox, who had joined Norman Lesly and his companions after the truce made with Arran in the preceding February. The Castle of St. Andrew's was demolished by order of the Scottish privy council. It has ever since remained a ruin.

The English protector had been for some time busy collecting an army for the invasion of Scotland; and by the end of August he was ready to set out for the north at the head of a well-appointed force, which appears to have amounted to above twenty thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry; a fleet of sixty-five vessels, of which thirty-five were ships of war, and the remainder laden with ammunition and victuals, being equipped to accompany the expedition, under the command of the Lord Clinton. A journal of this invasion of Scotland is extant, written by a person who served in the protector's army, which is not only one of the most minutely curious records of that age, but one of the most vivid pictures of the realities of war ever drawn.* The author, W. Patten, was conjoint judge-marshal of the army along with the afterwards celebrated William Cecil, and his work is dedicated to Paget, whom he styles "his most

* "The Expedition into Scotland of the most worthily fortunate Prince Edward Duke of Somerset, uncle to our most noble Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty Edward the VI., Governor of his Highness' Person, and Protector of his Grace's realms, dominions, and subjects; made in the first year of his Majesty's most prosperous reign, and set out by way of Diary. By W. Patten, Londoner." This narrative, which was first published at London in 1548, was reprinted in (Dalyell's) "Fragments of Scottish History," 4to. Edin. 1798, of which work, however, the whole impression amounted to only 200 copies. Patten's Diary therefore, is still a tract of great rarity.

benign fautor and patron." He is, of course, a professed worshipper of his grace of Somerset, upon whom he heaps his laudation throughout with unbounded prodigality. Yet, allowance being made for some courtly embellishment, he evidently, in the main, sets down what he saw with his own eyes, and he tells his story with a hearty gossiping relish that of itself betokens a keen and quicksighted observer.

The army having been collected at Newcastle, the protector rode thither from London, and was met six miles from the town on Saturday, the 27th of August, by Warwick, the lord-lieutenant, and Sadler, the master-treasurer. The next day a muster of the whole force was held; and on Monday, the 29th, they set forward for the borders. Reaching Berwick on Friday, the 2nd of September, they found there Lord Clinton with the fleet, which immediately put to sea, while the army rested a day, and then, on the Sunday, set forward on its march close along the shore. Having made their way, on the 5th, across the deep glen or valley of the Peaths, or the Pease (as it is commonly pronounced), at Cockburnspath, the invaders began the work of war by sitting down before Dunglass Castle, a hold belonging to Sir George Douglas. The captain, Matthew Hume, the son of a brother of Lord Hume, made no vain show of resistance, but soon came forth, "and brought with him," says our journalist, "his band to my lord's grace, which was of twenty-one sober (poor) soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed that, so God help me (I will say it for no praise), I never saw such a bunch of beggars come out of one house together in my life." Six of the most decent of these scarecrows were detained; the rest were allowed "to gea their gate,"—that is, to go their way,—with an admonition that they would be hanged the next time they were caught. The castle was afterwards blown up with gunpowder, as were also Thornton and Anderwick, two other peels or strongholds belonging to Lord Hume.

The invading force continued its march close to the German Ocean, and, passing within gunshot of Dunbar,

encamped for the night in the neighbourhood of Tantallon Castle. Here they received the first certain intelligence of the position of the enemy. The next day, Wednesday, the 7th, turning to the west, they crossed the small river Lynn, the horse taking the water, the infantry passing over by Linton bridge. A number of Scottish prickers, or horse, were now seen on a rising ground not far from Hailes Castle, belonging to Earl Bothwell, some of whom appeared to be making towards the river, with the intention probably of picking up stragglers or attacking the rear of the English cavalry, whom a sudden mist had enveloped while they were yet crossing the water.

A communication was now established with the fleet, which lay over against Leith; and, the lord admiral having come on shore, it was arranged that the ships of war should fall down the Frith, and take their stations opposite to the town of Musselburgh, near to which the army lay. On the evening of the same day, Friday, the 8th, the English encamped in the neighbourhood of Salt Preston, now called Prestonpans.

The two armies were now separated by a distance of little more than two miles, and each camp was to be seen from the high grounds in the neighbourhood of the other. Both had the sea to the north, while on the south, and about midway between them, rose, facing the west, the eminence called Falside, or Fawside Brae, the termination of an inconsiderable range of hills extending in a direction parallel to the sea. Upon this elevation, which was surmounted by "a sorry castle, and half a score houses of like worthiness by it," all the morning of Saturday, the 9th, the Scottish horsemen were seen "pranking" up and down; but in the afternoon a party of English cavalry, having set out to attack them, succeeded in compelling them to retire, though not till after a sharp skirmish, in which several persons were slain and taken prisoners on both sides; among others the son and heir of Lord Hume fell into the hands of the English, and that lord himself, though he escaped, was severely hurt, and put *hors de combat* by a fall from his

horse. After this affair, Somerset, Warwick, and others of the captains, attended by a guard of three hundred horse, proceeded to the hill to take a view of the Scottish camp. There, on the lower ground between them and the declining sun, glittered the white tents of Arran's numerous host, disposed in four long rows running from east to west, and about an arrow-shot asunder, "not unlike to four great ridges of ripe barley." Ripe, indeed, it might have been added, was the living harvest for the sickle! The position of the Scots, however, was a very strong one: the sea, as already mentioned, skirted them to the north; a great marsh covered their opposite or right flank; while their front was strongly defended by the river Esk flowing northward into the sea, with no great volume of water, indeed, but yet with banks so steep and rugged as almost to defy the approach of an enemy. The ancient bridge over this river they had taken possession of and "kept well warded with ordnance;" it stood within twelve score paces of the sea; and in front of the bridge, on the narrow space of ground between it and the sea, they had also planted two field-pieces, and stationed some hackbutters or musqueteers, under a turf wall. Between Fawside Brae and the Esk stood another little insulated eminence, crowned by the parish-church of St. Michael's of Inveresk. A herald and a trumpeter came to the English camp: the former professed to come from Arran with a proffer of honest conditions of peace, while the latter brought a personal challenge from his master, the Lord Huntley, to Somerset, whom the Scottish earl asked to fight him, either singly, or with ten or twenty more on each side, and so to decide the contest without further effusion of blood. The protector, as might have been, and no doubt was expected, declined both propositions.

It was now resolved to occupy the hill on which stood St. Michael's church, and for that purpose on the following morning, that of Saturday, the 10th—long popularly remembered in Scotland as the *Black Saturday*—the army was put in motion by eight o'clock. Upon coming

in sight of the ground, they were greatly amazed to find that the Scots had crossed the river, and were there before them; for that Arran would have quitted the advantageous position he held, and have thus left all his strong natural defences behind his back, was the last thought that could have entered their heads. It should appear, however, that the Scots were afraid of their invaders moving away and escaping them, and that their intention was, if they had not been thus encountered in the intermediate space, to have attacked Somerset in his camp. When they saw the English approaching, they advanced at a round pace; but their course was immediately checked by a discharge of artillery from the admiral's galley, which was so effective as to kill between twenty and thirty of them, their line of march, in consequence of the situation of the bridge by which they had passed over, being close upon the sea. This slaughter, Patten affirms, so scared a body of four thousand Irish (that is, Highland) archers brought by the Earl of Argyle, "that whereas, it was said, they should have been a wing to the foreward (vanguard), they could never after be made to come forward." The whole advancing host now moved away to the right, with the object of gaining Fawside Brae; but the English were before them here, and succeeded not only in occupying the brow of the hill, but in planting several field-pieces upon its summit, so as to be enabled to fire over the heads of the men below. For this they were indebted principally to their great superiority in cavalry. As for the Scots, Patten notices it as a remarkable circumstance, that "in all this enterprise they used for haste so little the help of horse, that they plucked forth their ordnance by draught of men."

When they saw the English in possession of the hillside, the Scots suddenly stopped, in a fallow field, where a great ditch or slough still divided them from the enemy. Undeterred by this obstacle, however, the Lord Gray proceeded to attack them, and, though many of his men stuck in the slough, and they were also impeded by the cross ridges of the ploughed field, he dashed on and made his way up to the Scots, who stood still to re-

ceive the attack, only when their assailants were near upon them, "striking their pike points, and crying 'Come here, louns (rascals), come here, tykes (dogs), come here, heretics,' and such like." It is affirmed that the left wing of the Scots was at first compelled to give way; but this seems to have been only for a moment; the English soon turned round in a body to regain the hill. The flight, in fact, seems to have been general, in so far as the common troopers were concerned; the gentlemen alone for a few moments tried to make a stand; in the vain attempt no fewer than twenty-six of them were slain; Lord Gray himself was severely wounded in the mouth; and the Scots rushing up to the royal standard actually got hold of it, and in the struggle succeeded in carrying away a part of the staff.

Patten's description of what he calls "the countenance of the war," up to this time, bears vivid traces of the alarm and confusion in which he and his countrymen found themselves.

Another old English historian admits that "albeit encounters between horsemen on the one side and foot on the other, are seldom with the extremity of danger, because as horsemen can hardly break a battail on foot, so men on foot cannot possibly chase horsemen; yet hereupon so great was the tumult and fear among the English, that had not the commanders been men both of approved courage and skill, or haply had the Scots been well furnished with men at arms, the army had that day been utterly undone."* Warwick, in particular, exerted himself in restoring the self-possession of the men, assuring them that if they would only follow their officers, the day was still their own. It was now seen that the impetuosity of the Scots had involved an inconsiderable part of their force almost within a complete enclosure of their enemies; on which, we proceeded, says Patten, "to compass them in that they should no way escape us, —the which by our power and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees."

* Hayward.

The requisite dispositions were forthwith made by the several officers with great skill and effect. "The master of the ordnance," continues the narrative, "to their great annoyance did gall them with hail shot and other out of the great ordnance directly from the hill-top, and certain other gunners with their pieces aflank from our rearward, most of our artillery and marine engines there wholly with great puissance and vehemency occupied thus about them. Herewith the full sight of our footmen, all shadowed from them before by our horsemen and dust raised, whom then they were ware in such order to be so near upon them. And to this the perfect array of our horsemen again coming courageously to set on them afresh." The tide and current of the "heady fight" were in a moment turned. The Scots, staggered and bewildered, first fell back, and then began to take to flight. Arran himself, their general, is said to have been the first to put spurs to his horse—after him Angus; then the Highland archers, who had never yet been engaged, fled in a body. "Therewith then turned all the whole rout, cast down their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their jacks, and with all that ever they might, betook them to the race that their governor began. Our men had found them at the first (as what could escape so many thousand eyes), and sharply and quickly, with an universal outcry, They fly! they fly! pursued after in chase amain; and thereto so eagerly and with such fierceness, that they overtook many, and spared, indeed, but few. The torrent chiefly rolled itself along three great lines:—one multitude took the way by the sands to Leith; another made for Edinburgh, either by the high road, or through the enclosed ground called the King's Park; a third, and that the most numerous, sought Dalkeith, by crossing a marsh, through which the English horse found it difficult to pursue them.

Many thousands, however, were slaughtered in the flight, the protector's people giving hardly any quarter. The prisoners taken amounted, in all, only to about fifteen hundred—little more, according to Patten's ac-

count, than a tithe of the slain. The most distinguished among those that fell alive into the hands of the English was the Earl of Huntley, lord chancellor of the kingdom, whom, notwithstanding his ostentatious message to Somerset by the trumpeter, the Scottish writers loudly accuse of treachery; the same authorities also assert that the Masters of Buchan, Erskine, and Graham, were put to death in cold blood, "after having rendered themselves on quarter promised."* Soon after five o'clock, however, the lord protector being, if we may believe his judge-marshal, moved with pity at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victory than desirous of slaughter, staid the pursuit. But by this time it seems to have extended up to the walls of Edinburgh, and no more flying enemies were anywhere to be seen for the sword to cut down. The victorious army then returned to plunder the Scottish camp. It stood, according to Patten's description, in a field called Edmonston Edges, near the village of Gilmerton, half a mile to the west of Musselburgh, and four miles from Edinburgh; the space occupied by the tents being about a mile in compass. Here, as soon as the English arrived, they set up a universal shout of gladness and victory, the shrillness of which is affirmed to have been heard as far as Edinburgh. As for the spoil, there was found in the tents good provision of white bread, ale, oaten cakes, oatmeal, mutton, butter in pots, and cheese; and also, in those of the principal persons, good wine and some silver plate. Then they fell to stripping the bodies of the multitudinous dead. As many hands make light work, observes our journalist, it was wonderful to see in how short a time all the bodies were stript stark naked throughout the whole space over which the pursuit and slaughter had extended. He expresses great admiration of the athletic forms of the Scottish soldiers; their tallness of stature, clearness of skin, bigness of

* See Sir James Balfour's Annals. According to Patten, the master of Graham was one of those killed by the volley fired from the admiral's galley at the commencement of the engagement.

bone, and due proportion in all parts, he says, were such, that, unless he had seen them, he would not have believed the whole country had contained so many well-made men. All the day, during the fight and the subsequent slaughter, the sky had been cloudy and lowering; but now, when the earth lay covered with the naked dead, a heavy rain fell for an hour, lightening the laden atmosphere, and refreshing the face of nature. About seven o'clock the English pitched their camp for the night on the neighbouring height of Edge-buckling-brae, otherwise called Pinkencleugh, beside Pinkie Slough, about midway between their former station at Preston Pans and the spot where the battle was fought. And thus ended the greatest defeat the Scots had sustained since the disastrous day of Flodden Field, almost exactly thirty-four years before.

The army rested here only till the morning of the following day, Sunday the 11th, when it removed to the neighbourhood of Leith. The fleet now, taking advantage of the universal terror into which the country had been thrown, proceeded to sweep the sea of all Scottish vessels, and to burn and ravage whatever parts of the land it could reach. The island of Inchcolm in the Frith was taken, and Kinghorn and other towns and villages along the Fife coast were plundered and set on fire. Meanwhile many of the neighbouring gentry came in to make their submission—and, for the moment, all active resistance on the part of the Scottish government and people was at an end. Both the capital, however, and its dependent sea-port of Leith still kept their gates shut against the invaders. Nor did Somerset deem it expedient to follow up his great victory by attempting to force an entrance into either of these towns. On Saturday, the 17th, it was announced to the army that the following morning the tents would again be struck, and the word given for setting out on their march back again to the borders. That same day the town of Leith was set on fire—the writer before us hesitatingly attempts to insinuate, by accident, or at least without any commission from Somerset;—but the act was too much in the

spirit of that commander's usual devastating and savage manner of carrying on war to allow us to have any doubt as to its having been done by his express order. When the army set out the next morning at seven o'clock, the sky was still red with the flames that rose from the town, and also from some great ships in the harbour, that are admitted to have been designedly set on fire. As the English took their departure, Patten says that the castle of Edinburgh "shot off a peal of twenty-four pieces;" but none of the shot reached them. The chief part of the army directed their march south-east across the country; "but part of us," he continues, "kept the way that the chief of the chase was continued in, whereby we found most part of the dead corpses lying very ruefully, with the colour of their skins changed greenish, about the place they had been smitten in, as then too, above ground, unburied."

Somerset, meanwhile, pursued his way homewards without losing much more time. He had, indeed, dispatched Clinton with a few ships "full fraught with men and munition" to assault the castle of Broughty, at the mouth of the Tay; and this fortress, which was the key to that river and to the towns of Dundee and Perth, was soon compelled to surrender. The first pause which he himself made was at Hume Castle, in the Merse, before which he sat down on the 19th, and made preparations for an assault; but after two days of negotiation, Lady Hume deemed it most prudent to yield up the place, on condition of the garrison and herself being allowed to depart with their lives and whatever else they could carry away with them. He also halted for a few days at Roxburgh, and built a small fort within the enclosure of an old ruined castle there. After this, many of the persons in that part of the country came in to make their submission. It appears, however, that Arran, with a small body of cavalry, had hung upon the rear of the retreating army all the way from Edinburgh, although he did not venture to do more than watch its motions. At last, on Thursday, the 29th, the English general recrossed the Tweed, and in a few days more arrived

in London, after an absence altogether of about six weeks.

It is conjectured that intelligence of certain doings on the part of a "brother near the throne," which will presently engage our attention, hurried Somerset back to the English court; but, independently of any such sudden and secret motive, the moment was as apt a one as he could have chosen in which to make his re-appearance. The Scottish war, indeed, of which he had undertaken the conduct, instead of being ended, was only begun; nor had he even attempted to follow up, or to gather the fruits of, his first great success: but no subsequent achievement was likely to out-dazzle the victory of Pinkey; nor could the glory of that victory be enhanced even by the most favourable results, for already it seemed not merely a battle won, but a kingdom conquered. The protector, however, was careful to assume a demeanour of the most condescending and retiring humility. He was immediately rewarded by Edward,—in other words, by himself,—with a grant of additional landed estates to the value of five hundred pounds a-year. He forthwith also prepared "to meet the parliament (for which the writs had been sent out before he went into Scotland), now that he was so covered with glory, to get himself established in his authority, and to do those other things which required a session."*

The work of carrying forward the reformation of the church had engaged the attention of the government from the commencement of the reign. Cranmer, in the words of the right reverend historian who has just been quoted, "being now delivered from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by King Henry, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses." In these views the archbishop, besides the cordial assent of the young king, had the entire concurrence of the protector, as also, since the expulsion of Wriothesley, of nearly all the members of the council that were of any influence or consideration. The only formidable opponent

* Burnet.

of the innovations that remained even nominally a member of the government was Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and he was relegated on various pretexts to his distant diocese, and excluded from taking any part in public affairs. Of the other bishops, several went along with Cranmer,—namely, Holgate of York, Holbeck of Lincoln, Goodrick of Ely, and especially the able and learned Ridley, who, in September of this year, was appointed to the see of Rochester. On the side of the old opinions, however, was still arrayed a vast force both of numbers and also of other elements of power. If the boy who occupied the throne was an enthusiastic Protestant, his sister, the Princess Mary, generally looked upon as the heiress presumptive, was as zealous and determined a Catholic; Somerset and his adherents of the new nobility had to maintain their position against the envy, the resentment, and the other natural antipathies of the whole faction of the ancient houses, depressed, indeed, for the present, but still deeply rooted and of great natural strength in the country; even of the heads of the church, both the greater number and the most distinguished, including, besides Tunstall, the fierce and unscrupulous Bonner of London, and the courageous, politic, and accomplished Gardiner of Winchester, were opposed to the new opinions; above all, the immense majority of the people of all classes had yet to be roused from their habitual attachment to the doctrines and the ritual of their forefathers. In these circumstances it was prudently resolved, "by Cranmer and his friends, to carry on the Reformation, but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once."* They did not wait, however, till the parliament met to commence what they deemed so good and necessary a work, but determined at once to proceed upon the despotic statute of the last reign, which gave to the royal proclamation the full force of a legislative enactment. They began by a repetition of the late king's visitation of dioceses. The kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which were

* Burnet.

appointed three or four visitors, in most cases partly clergymen, partly laymen. These visitors were invested for the time with the supreme spiritual authority in their several districts, and with power to call before them, for examination, the clergy of all ranks, from the bishop inclusive, and even any of the laity in every parish, whose evidence, as to its ecclesiastical condition, they should deem it expedient to obtain. But their functions were not limited to the taking of evidence. A body of injunctions relating to a great variety of points of religious belief and worship was framed and put into their hands, which they were to publish wherever they went, with intimation that the refusal or neglect to obey them would be punished with the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries, whom the justices of the peace were required to assist, should answer it to the king. These orders were for the greater part the same that had been formerly issued by Cromwell; but it was an important innovation thus to conjoin the civil authorities with the bishops in the execution of them. At the same time a collection of homilies was drawn up, which were required to be read in every church on Sundays and holidays: every parish church in England was ordered to be provided with a copy of a translation made for the purpose of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, as well as of the English Bible; the most eminent preachers of the reformed doctrines that could be found were dispersed over the kingdom along with the visitors, that they might with the more authority instruct the people; while, by various regulations, the right of all other clergymen to preach was gradually more and more contracted, till at last it was permitted to no one, even although a bishop, who had not a licence from the protector or the metropolitan.

The visitors were sent out upon their circuits about the same time that the protector set forth on his expedition to Scotland; and when Somerset returned from the north he had the satisfaction of finding that they had completed their mission apparently with as much success as himself. One of the injunctions was, that all monu-

ments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches; "and those," says Burnet, "who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this,—that on the same day in which the visitors removed and destroyed most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland in Pinkey Field." Both Bonner and Gardiner, however, had stood out against the new regulations. Bonner, at first, would only promise to observe the injunctions in so far as they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the church: on this he was brought before the council, where, after offering a submission "full of vain quiddities" (as the minute characterises it), he at last consented to withdraw his protestation unconditionally; but, nevertheless, "for giving terror to others," it was deemed proper that he should be sent for a time to the Fleet. Gardiner's case was different; the injunctions and homilies had never actually been offered for his acceptance, but he had objected to them in a letter to one of the visitors before the visitation of his diocese had commenced. Burnet, who transcribes this letter at length, being "resolved," as he says, "to suppress nothing of consequence, on what side soever it may be," cannot help speaking of it in a tone of honest commendation, which is not the less forcible for the indications of partisanship with which his admission is accompanied. "It has more," he observes, "of a Christian and of a bishop in it than anything I ever saw of his. He expresses, in handsome terms, a great contempt of the world, and a resolution to suffer anything rather than depart from his conscience; besides that, as he said, the things being against law, he would not deliver up the liberties of his country, but would petition against them." He also wrote argumentative letters against some things in the injunctions and homilies both to the protector and to Cranmer. This was all that he had done when he was summoned before the council, and required to promise that he would obey the royal injunctions. He replied that he was not bound, *then*, to say whether he would or would not, but should be prepared

to make his answer to the visitors when they came to his diocese. This defence, however, availed him nothing: he also, as well as Bonner, was consigned to close imprisonment in the Fleet. In this way the two most formidable enemies of the course which the protector and Cranmer had entered upon, and were bent upon pursuing, were excluded from the parliament that was about to open.

The two Houses met on the 4th of November. The day before, "the protector," says Burnet, "gave too public an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up; for by a patent under the great seal he was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and was to have all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the uncles of the kings of England, whether by the father's or mother's side, had enjoyed; with a *non obstante* to the statute of precedence." The new parliament, however, began its proceedings with some valuable constitutional reforms, or, rather, restorations of the old constitution. The first bill that was brought in (eventually formed into the act 1 Edw. VI. c. 12) repealed the late atrocious acts which gave to the royal proclamation the force of law, erased all the additions to the law of treason that had been made since the 25th of Edw. III., and also swept away at once both the old laws against the Lollards and all the new felonies created during the last reign, including the Statute of the Six Articles and every other act concerning doctrine and matter of religion. Another act (the 1 Edw. VI. c. 1) made an important innovation in the ritual of religious worship, by ordering that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the cup should be delivered to the laity as well as to the clergy. A third (the 1 Edw. VI. c. 2) put an end to the old form (afterwards, however, restored in the reign of Elizabeth, and still subsisting) of the election of bishops by *congé d'élire*, on the ground that "the said elections be in very deed no elections, but only have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections, serving nevertheless to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal;"

and appointed that all collations to bishoprics should in future be made by direct nomination of the crown. Last in order of these measures of ecclesiastical reform was brought in one in which many of the members of the government had a personal and pecuniary interest,—the bill for making over to the crown all the chantries, colleges, and free chapels throughout the kingdom that yet remained unconfiscated. This bill, which was first brought forward in the House of Lords, was strongly opposed there not only by the bishops attached to the old religion, but by Cranmer himself. It was vigorously pushed, however, by Henry's executors, who, as Burnet intimates, "saw they could not pay his debts, nor satisfy themselves in their own pretensions, formerly mentioned, out of the king's revenue, and so intended to have these to be divided among them;" and they had the eager assistance of every other noble lord who cherished any expectation of sharing in the plunder. The minority against the bill on the first division consisted, in fact, only of Cranmer and six other bishops; and on the third reading the archbishop and one of the bishops were absent, while another of them abandoned his bootless and profitless opposition, and went over to the court. In short, "those that were to gain by it were so many that the act passed." It also met with much resistance in the Commons from some of the burgh members, who particularly objected to the clause giving the lands held by guilds to the king; but they were pacified by an assurance that the lands in question should be afterwards restored; and the act was then quietly allowed to become law. The objects of the confiscation, as professed in the preamble of the act, were, first, the discouragement of superstition; secondly, the converting of the funds obtained by the suppression of the chantries "to good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar-schools for the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy;"* but whatever may have been gained

* Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.

in the former of these ways, in respect to the latter the measure proved a mere delusion. "For though the public good was pretended thereby, and intended, too, I hope," says a writer well disposed to take the most favourable view of all these proceedings, "yet private men in truth had most of the benefit; and the king and commonwealth, the state of learning, and the condition of the poor, left as they were before or worse."*

Another remarkable act, designated by the king in his Journal "an extreme law," was also passed for the suppression of the still extending nuisance of mendicity, or, as it was entitled, "for the punishment of vagabonds, and the relief of poor and impotent persons."† All the provision that was made for the latter object was merely by a clause directing that impotent, maimed, and aged persons, who could not be taken as vagabonds, should have houses provided for them, and be otherwise relieved in the places where they were born or had chiefly resided for the last three years, *by the willing and charitable dispositions of the parishioners;* but in the part of it directed against mendicity, the statute has all the ferocity of a law passed in desperation, and fearfully attests, by the barbarous severity of its enactments, the height to which the evil had arrived. It was ordered that any person found living "idly or loiteringly" for the space of three days, should, on being brought before a justice, be marked as a vagabond with a hot iron on the breast, and adjudged to be the slave for two years of the person informing against him, who, it was added, "shall take the same slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse meat, and cause him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him to, be it never so vile." If in the course of this term the slave absented himself for fourteen days, he was to be marked with a hot iron on the forehead or the ball of the cheek, and adjudged to be a slave to his said master for ever: if he ran away a second time, he was to suffer death as a felon. Masters were

* Strype, Ec. Mem. ii. 102. † Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 3.

empowered "to sell, bequeath, let out for hire, or give the service of their slaves to any person whomsoever, upon such conditions, and for such term of years, as the said persons be adjudged to them for slaves, after the like sort and manner as they may do of any other their moveable goods or chattels." A master was likewise authorised to put a ring of iron about the neck, arm, or leg of his slave, "for a more knowledge and surety of the keeping of him." By another clause, it was ordered, that, although there should be no man to demand the services of such idle persons, the justices of the peace should still inquire after them, and, after branding them, convey them to the places of their birth, there to be nourished and kept in chains or otherwise, either at the common works in amending highways, or in servitude to private persons. Finally, all persons that chose were authorised to seize the children of beggars, and to retain them as apprentices—the boys till they were twenty-four, the girls till they were twenty years of age; and if they ran away before the end of their term, the master was permitted, upon recovering them, to punish them in chains or otherwise, and to use them as slaves till the time of their apprenticeship should have expired. This law can be characterised as nothing else than the formal re-establishment of slavery in England; but it would prove no mere matter of form:—from the extent to which, owing to a concurrence of causes, beggary and vagrancy had now spread, its despotic and oppressive character would be actually and severely felt by no inconsiderable portion of the people. Indeed, it helped, along with other elements of popular exasperation, to produce the result that ensued not long after this in many parts of the kingdom, where mendicancy was converted into open and general rebellion.

Parliament rose on the 24th of December, its last measure having been an act confirming the king's general pardon of state offenders, from which, however, was excluded, along with a few others, the Duke of Norfolk, who still remained a prisoner in the Tower. Cranmer, nevertheless, continued to urge on his ecclesiastical alter-

ations with unrelaxing activity. On the representation of the archbishop, that such things were contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, an order was issued by the council, prohibiting the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, or of palms on Palm Sunday. This innovation was far from being relished by the bulk of the nation; for "the country people," as Burnet observes, "generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion, and judged it a dull business only to come to church for divine worship and the hearing of sermons; therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of those rites." Another proclamation soon followed, denouncing imprisonment against whosoever should take upon him to preach, except in his own house, without a licence from the king, the visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese in which he so preached; "to the intent," as it was expressed, "that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his highness' people." Remarks were made, Burnet tells us, upon the conduct of the council in thus going on creating new offences with arbitrary punishments, although the act was now repealed that had formerly given them such extraordinary powers. It was argued, in their vindication, that they might still issue such proclamations in the king's name, in virtue of the royal supremacy, in matters ecclesiastical; "yet this," adds the historian, "was much questioned, though universally submitted to." The next order that appeared, directed the removal of all images from all churches and chapels. At the same time it was commanded that all rich shrines, with all the plate belonging to them, should be seized for the use of the king: the council, it seems, were not ashamed to add, *that the clothes that covered them should be converted to the use of the poor.** Soon after this was issued a royal proclamation, setting forth a new office for the public ad-

* Burnet, however, although he mentions this order in his History, has not inserted it in his Collection of Records.

ministration of the Lord's Supper, which had been drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines: it directed that the sacrament should be given to the people in both kinds; that there should be no elevation of the host: and that the whole service should be in the English language. These regulations were soon after followed by the publication of a short English catechism by Cranmer, "for the profit and instruction of children and young people." Finally, the committee of bishops and divines proceeded to the composition of an entire new Liturgy, or book of the public services of religion, in English; but the publication of this important work was deferred till it should have received the sanction of parliament.

Meanwhile, some further trouble had been given by the dexterous opposition, or at least passive resistance, of Gardiner to these proceedings of Cranmer and the government. The act of general pardon had restored him to liberty at the end of the session; and, accordingly, on the 8th of January, 1548, he was brought before the council, and discharged, with a grave admonition to carry himself henceforth reverently and obediently. He retired to his diocese, but there still appeared in his whole behaviour what Burnet calls "great malignity to Cranmer and to all motions for reformation." "Yet," it is added, "he gave such outward compliance that it was not easy to find any advantage against him, especially now since the council's great power was so much abridged." After a few months, however, he was again summoned before the council, on occasion of some new complaints; and this time the affair ended by his being sent to the Tower. The council here seem to have proceeded with as little regularity as legal right; for it appears that the order for the bishop's imprisonment was not signed when it was made, but only some years after; as entered on the council-book, it has attached to it the names of Somerset, Cranmer, St. John, Russell, and Cheyney; but Lord Russell had, in the first instance, subscribed himself "Bedford," till, recollecting that he had not that title at the time of making the order, he drew his pen through

the word, and substituted "J. Russell!" * Gardiner, however, was thus once more placed where he could give no active annoyance; he remained in close confinement throughout the reign, steadily refusing all proposals of submission or compromise, till at last he was deprived of his bishopric.

All this time the war in Scotland had not ceased to give both anxiety and occupation to the government, though the military operations that took place were not attended with any very important results. In an assembly of the Scottish nobility held at Stirling soon after the battle of Pinkey, a resolution had been adopted on the suggestion of the queen-dowager to apply for the assistance of France, and with that object to offer their infant queen in marriage to the dauphin, and even to propose to send her immediately to be educated at the French court. This was, in other words, an offer to the French king of the Scottish crown. It was at once accepted by Henry, nor did he lose a moment in making preparations for the vigorous defence of a kingdom which he might now consider as his own. On learning what had been done, Somerset published an earnest address in English and Latin, to the people of Scotland, pointing out to them all the advantages they were throwing away by the rejection of the matrimonial alliance with England, as well as the loss of their independence and the other evils that were sure to follow from the French marriage, and calling upon them to draw back from the ruinous course on which their government was leading them. This appeal was followed up by the arrival, towards the end of April, of a powerful English army under the conduct of the Lord Gray of Wilton, which advanced straightway upon the neighbourhood of the capital. The town of Haddington was taken and fortified, a garrison of two thousand men being left to hold it; some isolated castles were battered down, or compelled to surrender; Dalkeith and Musselburgh were burnt; but all these terrors had no effect in damping the

* Burnet.

spirit of the Scots—buoyed up as they were by the highest hopes of the revenge they were soon to be enabled to take by means of the ample aid promised them by the French king. About the middle of June, the squadron conveying the expected foreign auxiliaries arrived at Leith. The force consisted of about six thousand veterans,*—partly French, partly German—under the command of D'Esse D'Espanviliers, a general of great gallantry and experience. No time was lost in proceeding to active operations. It was resolved that the first enterprise of the allied forces should be the recovery of Haddington; and, accordingly, an army composed of the whole of D'Esse's men, and of about eight thousand Scots, under the command of Arran, marched upon that town. It was in the camp before Haddington that the parliament or convention of estates was assembled which ratified, amid the hurry and tumult of arms, the treaty with the French king. The fleet which had brought over the French soldiers still remained in the Frith of Forth; it now put to sea, and proceeded at first in the direction of the French coast, but as soon as it was fairly out of sight of land it changed its course, and having sailed round by the north of Scotland, entered the Clyde, and touched at Dunbarton, where it received on board the young queen with her attendants.† Mary reached the harbour of Brest in safety on the 13th of August, and was immediately conducted to St. Germain-en-Laye, where she was contracted in the usual form to the Dauphin of France, then a child of five years of age, she herself being only a few months older. Meanwhile, Haddington remained unreduced, though still invested. At first the place had been sharply cannonaded, and various breaches had been made in the walls; but D'Esse still did not think it prudent to venture upon an assault. In fact, from this time the besiegers resolved to trust to the

* Curiously translated by Sir James Balfour, into "olde beaten shouldiours," in his patriotic aversion to admit that these foreign auxiliaries were of any use to his countrymen.

† Balfour Annals.

hope of starving the garrison into a surrender. The strength and spirit of the latter, however, were soon after recruited by the arrival of a body of two hundred of their countrymen, who "found means one night to pass through all the watches on that side where the Scots lay, and entering the town, and bringing with them great plenty of powder and other necessaries, greatly relieved them within, and so encouraged them that they seemed to make small account of their enemy's forces." A similar attempt that was afterwards made by a troop of thirteen hundred horse from Berwick, under the command Sir Thomas Palmer, had a different issue. The English horse were met by the French and Scots under D'Esse and Lord Hume, and were completely environed and put to the rout. The Scottish historians assert that the slain and the prisoners on the part of the English in this affair exceeded a thousand men. Immediately upon receipt of the intelligence at the English court, orders were given for the advance across the borders of an army of twenty-two thousand men, which had been raised and put under the command of Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, as the lieutenant of the Duke of Somerset. Lord Clinton, at the same time, put to sea with a formidable fleet. On the approach of Shrewsbury, the besieging army retired from Haddington, and the earl entered that town, the gallant defenders of which were now reduced to the utmost extremity.* The earl left abundant supplies, not only of "victuals, munition, and all other things convenient," but likewise of healthy and strong men to assist in maintaining the defence. He then set forth to seek the Scots and French, whom he found posted some ten or twelve miles off, at Musselburgh. They would not, however, leave their intrenchments, and the English did not venture to attack them. In fact, the earl and his great army forthwith turned round, and began their march back to England. The only other exploit they performed was to set fire to Dunbar, as they passed by that town on their retreat Nor

* Holinshed.

were the achievements of Lord Clinton and the fleet more considerable. Balfour informs us that Clinton landed some five thousand men on the coast of Fife, to spoil the country; "but before they did much harm, they were rencountered by the Laird of Wemyss and the barons of Fife, all well horsed, who rode them flat down with their horses, and, having killed above seven hundred of them, forced the remnant to save themselves by wading in the sea to the necks, before they could gain their flat-bottomed boats, having purched (acquired) no better booty than their backful of strokes and wet skins." They afterwards made a descent during the night at Montrose, where in like manner they were driven off by the peasantry, headed by Erskine of Dun; of eight hundred who had landed, scarcely one in three getting back safe to the ships. "So," it is added, "the admiral returned, having got nothing but loss and disgrace by the expedition."

After the Earl of Shrewsbury had returned home, Lord Gray, who had been left as lieutenant of the north, made an inroad into Scotland, and, without encountering any opposition, burned and wasted Teviotdale and Liddesdale for the space of about twenty miles. On the other hand, not long after this, on Tuesday the 9th of October, an attempt was made by D'Esse to surprise the town of Haddington, up to the very gate of which he had got with his men, at an early hour in the morning, before his presence was suspected. But when the assailants were on the point of completing their enterprise, a cannon that chanced to be pointed upon the gate was fired off against his countrymen by a French deserter who served within the town, which made such slaughter among them as to drive them back in disorder; and although D'Esse thrice gallantly led back his men to the encounter, they were finally foiled and beaten off with great loss. On this, the French commander retired to Leith, and fortified himself in that town.

The English parliament re-assembled at Westminster on the 24th of November, having been prorogued to that day from the 15th of October, in consequence of

the plague then being in London. The first question of importance that was brought forward was that of the marriage of the clergy. A proposition in favour of this innovation having been submitted to the lower House of Convocation, during the last session of parliament, had been carried in that assembly by a majority of nearly two to one; and a bill to carry it into effect had been actually introduced in the House of Commons, though it was not proceeded with. A similar bill was now again brought forward, and, although it met with considerable opposition, was finally passed and sent up to the Lords on the 13th of December. In the upper House it was allowed to lie unnoticed till the 9th of February, 1549; but, being then taken up, was, after it had undergone some alterations, to which the Commons eventually assented, read a third time on the 19th, and passed, by a majority of thirty-nine to twelve. This was followed by an act establishing the use of the reformed Liturgy lately drawn up. Against both of these bills many of the bishops, and a few also of the lay lords, entered protests. The only other enactment of this session on the subject of religion that requires to be here noticed, is one that was passed "touching abstinence from flesh in Lent and other usual times." The preamble of this statute declares, that "one day or one kind of meat of itself is not more holy, more pure, or more clean than another;" but, nevertheless, condemns those who, "turning their knowedge to satisfy their sensuality," had, "of late time more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence which hath been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, the embering days, and other days commonly called vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times." The regulations with regard to the observance of fish-days which are laid down, and which need not be detailed, are then ushered in by a statement of the considerations that had been kept in view in framing them, which "glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," with a most edifying impartiality and comprehensiveness of regard.

But an affair of another kind was also brought before the parliament in the course of this session, the history of which, from its commencement nearly two years before, now falls to be related. The Earl of Hertford and his younger brother Sir Thomas Seymour do not appear to have lived on other than friendly terms down to the close of the late reign, during which the terrific temper of Henry made the fiercest and haughtiest spirits quail, and suppress the breath of their mutual animosities and rivalries. But as soon as the furious old despot was dead, and the throne came to be filled by the child, whose near relationship to the two brothers combined with his years and his disposition to throw him entirely into their hands, and to make him the puppet of whichsoever of the two should succeed in getting before the other in their struggle for the prize, the natural opposition of their interests, and of the circumstances in which they were placed, dashed them against each other like two meeting tides. Both were ambitious, by nature as well as by the temptations of their position; and he not the least so who, by the arrangements made on the accession of the new king, found himself without any share in the government, while the other had contrived to concentrate in himself nearly all the powers of the state. The protector tried to purchase the acquiescence of his brother, both by honours and more substantial benefits: Sir Thomas, as we have seen, was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Seymour of Sudley; he was also made High Admiral, the patent of that place being resigned to him by the new Earl of Warwick, who was, in turn, compensated with that of Lord Great Chamberlain, which Somerset himself had held, but which he now exchanged for those of Lord High Treasurer and Earl Marshal, forfeited by the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and he was furthermore, by a royal grant, in August, 1548, put in possession of the lordship of Sudley, in Gloucestershire, and of other lands and tenements in no fewer than eighteen counties.*

* See notice of the grant in Stryp., Ec. Mem. ii. 202.

But a temper and views such as his were not to be thus satisfied. Though resembling each other in ambition and rapacity, in most of the other points that marked their characters the two brothers were very unlike. The protector, slenderly endowed either with capacity or with moral courage, and probably conscious of these deficiencies, was in the habit of trusting in all things more to his instruments than to himself, and of seeking a support for his greatness in any prop he could find to lean upon. This timidity and want of self-dependence, together with his vanity, made him on all occasions an anxious affecter of popular applause, although his whole course demonstrates him to have been in reality one of the most self-regarding men that ever lived, and one of the most unscrupulous in the pursuit of his own aggrandizement. His anxiety, however, to stand well in the public estimation, and perhaps a natural coldness of temperament, preserved him from some of those private irregularities which more than anything else destroy reputation, though the mischief they occasion bears no proportion in extent to that inflicted by some other vices of character which are not so immediately offensive; and there was little or nothing to be objected to in his life and conversation under any of the heads of that household morality which is very generally regarded as the whole code of morals. He was not only cautiously decent in his private demeanour within this circle of duties, but he was a conspicuous professor of religion and piety; and it is probable that he did take a considerable interest in those high questions by which all minds were more or less agitated, and certain strong views in regard to what constituted the peculiar badge and the great cementing element and life-spirit of his party. But although he was extremely cautious of doing anything likely to place him in an unfavourable light with the popular sentiment, it would be a mistake to imagine that he did not give a loose to his natural temper where there was no such risk in the most violent fashion. While he was all subservience to the huzzaing populace, and was at home completely under the govern-

ment of his wife—a proud, coarse, cunning woman—at the council-table and elsewhere, to all who were dependent upon him, not excepting the men to whom in great part he owed his elevation, he soon became the most imperious and insolent of the spoiled children of fortune. The Lord Admiral was certainly not a better man than the protector; but the vices of his character were for the most part of a different kind. They were not vices that attempted to assume the guise of virtues—whether that be a commendation or the reverse; they did not so far do homage to morality as to skulk out of sight; the admiral seems to have openly led a dissolute life, and was probably very regardless of imputations on the score of freedom or laxity of manners, at which his brother would have been ready to sink into the earth with shame and fear. It is doubtful to which of the two religions he belonged, but pretty certain that he neither cared, nor professed to care, much for either. In point of abilities he was reckoned far the protector's superior. The popular breath, which the elder brother so solicitously courted, the younger, as bold and reckless in this as in all things else, held in avowed contempt. Of the credit of high principle, or principle of any kind, very little can be awarded to either; each equally—the one in his adulation of the multitude, the other by his haughty aristocratic professions and bearing—pursued, in the way that his peculiar tastes and temper dictated, the path of the same selfish and rapacious ambition. What small amount of honesty may have belonged to either was, in Somerset, merely a natural attachment which he probably had to those opinions in religion which were the distinction of his party, and upon the profession of which he had taken his stand; in Seymour the effrontery of a profligate man, of too violent passions, and too proud a spirit, even to pretend to virtues which he did not possess.

Burnet's relation of the story of the Lord Admiral, upon which the accounts of later writers are principally founded, is given by him as if the particulars were either notorious, or had been obtained from some source that

left no doubt as to their authenticity; but it will be found, upon examination, that the whole detail is little more than a transcript of the charges made against Seymour by his brother and the council—that is, of the mere assertions of his enemies, upon which, as we shall find, although he was condemned and put to death, he was never brought to trial, and of the truth of many things in which we have really no evidence whatever. The statement, therefore, cannot be received with perfect confidence, although it may probably, in the main, be founded in truth. It is, however, in parts confirmed by documents that have been brought to light since Burnet wrote, especially by those contained in the collection known by the name of the 'Burghley Papers.'*

One of the lines of pursuit in which Seymour's talents, address, and personal advantages, enabled him greatly to distinguish himself, was that of gallantry: his success with women was so brilliant, that he had the popular reputation of catching hearts by art-magic. He now resolved that riches and power as well as pleasure should wait upon his victories in this career; and it is alleged that, in the first instance, he aspired so high as to have cherished the hope of gaining the hand either of the Princess Mary or of her sister Elizabeth, the two persons next in the order of succession to the throne. His views seem also to have been at one time directed to the Lady Jane Grey, in the presentiment that hers might possibly, after all, be the head upon which the crown would light. He found, however, that there were difficulties in the way of each of these projects, and, for the present, he contented himself with the hand of Catherine Parr, the

* A collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, transcribed from papers left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, now at Hatfield House, in the library of the Earl of Salisbury, by the Rev. Samuel Haynes, A.M., fol. Lond. 1740. This first volume of the Burghley Papers extends from A.D 1542 to 1570; a second volume, extending from 1571 to 1596, was published by the Rev. William Murdin, fol. Lond. 1759.

queen-dowager,—whom "you married," say the council in their charge, "so soon after the late king's death, that, if she had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession and quiet of the realm." In fact, Catherine appears to have thrown herself into his arms.

Seymour had a twofold object in this marriage—first, the acquisition of the wealth Catherine had accumulated while she was queen, and the dower to which she was now entitled; secondly, that he might gain the easier access to the king, and be the better able to win him over to his purposes through the influence of Catherine, to whom Edward had always been accustomed to look up with respect and affection. In the first of these expectations he was in part disappointed, by his wife being compelled to surrender certain jewels of great value, which Henry had given to her, but which the protector and the council insisted that she had no right to retain after she had ceased to be queen-consort. In a letter to Seymour upon the subject of this and other points in which she thought she was ill used, she seems to impute the treatment she had received to Somerset's proud and violent wife. Whether it was the loss of her jewels, however, or whether the same consequence would have followed without that provocation, poor Catherine soon became little an object of envy to any of her sex; the husband, to whom she had given herself with such precipitate fondness, began openly to show how tired he was become of her, and to resume his old gallantries, before many months had elapsed. In the meanwhile he had taken advantage of his opportunities to commence practising upon the young mind of his royal nephew. The object of ambition which, in the first instance at least, he had proposed to himself, seems to have been, to wrest from his brother the one of his two great offices which gave him the custody of the royal person, though it is probable enough that, if he had succeeded in that, he

would not have been long in making an attempt to get into his hands the government of the kingdom also. It is charged against him by the council that, after he had agreed and given his consent in writing to the appointment of his brother as "governor of the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms and dominions, and subjects;" he had "attempted and gone about by indirect means to undo this order," and to get the government of the king into his own hands;—that, "by corrupting with gifts and fair promises, divers of the privy chamber," he had gone about to allure the king to condescend and agree to the same, his "most heinous and perilous purposes;"—that he had "for that intent," with his own hand, written a letter in the king's name, which he had given to his majesty to copy and sign, and which he intended to have delivered personally to the House of Commons; "and there," it is added, "with your fautors and adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, or tumult, or uproar, to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm;"—that he had spoken "to divers of the council, and laboured with divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere" to him for the attainment of his purposes;—that he had said openly, that [if he were crossed in his designs] he would make that the blackest parliament that ever was in England;—that "the king's majesty being of those tender years, and, as yet by age, unable to direct his own things," the admiral had gone about to instil into his grace's head, and to persuade him to take upon himself the government and managing of his own affairs;—that he had fully intended to have taken his majesty's person into his own hands and custody;—that he had corrupted with money certain of the Privy Chamber to persuade the king to "have a credit towards" him, "and so," the article proceeds, "to insinuate you to his grace, that, when he lacked anything, he should have it of you, and none other body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use his king's highness for an instrument to this purpose." In a sort of answer which

was wrung from him to part of the charges of the council, Seymour admitted that about Easter, 1547, he had said to one of the royal attendants, "that if he might have the king in his custody as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and that he thought a man might bring him (the king) through the gallery to his (Seymour's) chamber, and so to his house; but this, he said, he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt." He owned also that, having some time after heard that, when there was formerly a Lord Protector in England, the government of the king's person was put into other hands, "he had thought to have made suit to the Parliament House for that purpose, and he had the names of all the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose, to labour them; but afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely Place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand that the Lord Protector should be governor to the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour." These, it is to be remembered, are not his own words under his own hand, but merely those put into his mouth by the persons sent to examine him, in their report to the council of what he said. He further acknowledged that he had drawn up the letter, or "bill," as he calls it, to be laid before the House of Commons, and had proffered it either to the king or Cheke, he forgot which. This had been done, after having "caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stanhope had." What answer he had got either to this suggestion, or to his proposal that the king should sign the letter, he professed not to remember. To the charge of giving money to the king and to those about him, he said that at Christmas, 1547, he had given to Mr. Cheke 40*l*., "whereof to himself 20*l*., the other for the king, to bestow where it pleaseth his grace amongst his servants." He had also given some money—he did not remember how much—to the grooms of the chamber. To Fowler, he admitted that he had given money for the king since

the beginning of the parliament then (February, 1549) sitting, to the amount of 20*l*. "And divers times, he saith, the king hath sent to him for money, and he hath sent it. And what time Mr. Latimer hath preached before the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Mr. Latimer; and he sent to him by Fowler 40*l*., with this word, that 20*l*. was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants." These confessions make it apparent enough that he had sought to gain an ascendancy over the king by supplying him with pocket-money, of which it appears that his majesty was kept very bare by my lord protector. But the most curious evidence upon this point, as well as upon some of the other charges brought against Seymour, is supplied by the Burghley Papers. Here we have, in the first place, the testimony of the king himself, given in several statements drawn up and subscribed by himself. Edward, as both men and children will do when in similar circumstances, may be supposed to soften what was blameable in his own part of the business as much as possible, even if in so doing he should be led to bear a little hard upon his unfortunate uncle; but the true state of the case may be easily gathered from his self-exculpatory detail. After an account of his refusing to write some letter at Seymour's request, his majesty proceeds: "At another time, within this two year at least, he said, ye must take upon you yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough, as well as other kings; and then ye may give your men somewhat, for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die. Then he said, ye are but even a very beggarly king now, ye have not to play, or to give to your servants. I said, Mr. Stanhope had for me. Then he said he would give Fowler money for me; and so he did, as Fowler told me. And he gave Cheke money, as I bade him; and also to a bookbinder, as Balmain can tell; and to divers others at that time, I remember not to whom." In another paper, Edward speaks of Seymour as trying to prejudice him against the protector, by representing

the expedition to Scotland, in which he was then engaged, as a very foolish and wasteful business. "At the return of my lord, my uncle," he goes on, "the lord admiral said I was too bashful in mine own matters; and asked me why I did not speak to bear rules, as other kings do. I said I needed not, for I was well enough. When he went into his country he desired me, that if anything were said against him, I should not believe it till he came himself." That Edward, however, was not a mere passive recipient in these money dealings with his uncle, appears from another paper in this collection, being a letter written by the king's command, in June, 1547, to the lord admiral, by Fowler. After conveying to Seymour some warm expressions of regard from his nephew—who had desired him to say, "that his mind and love, notwithstanding your absence, is towards your lordship as much as to any man within England"—the writer proceeds: "Also his grace willed me to write to your lordship, desiring you, as your lordship has willed him to do, if he lack any money to send to your lordship. His grace desires you, if you conveniently may, to let him have some money. I asked his grace what sum I should write to your lordship for; his grace would name no sum, but as it pleased your lordship to send him, for he determines to give it away, but to whom he will not tell me as yet." "The king's majesty," it is added, in a style of some importunity, "desires your lordship to send him this money as shortly as you can; and because your lordship may credit me the better, his grace has written in the beginning of my letter himself." The paper accordingly has the following words written by Edward in his own hand, and with his name subscribed: "I commend me to you, my lord, and pray you to credit this writer." To this we may subjoin, from the same repository, a part of the testimony of the Marquess of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was examined principally touching another of the charges brought against Seymour—his undertaking to marry the king at his own will and pleasure, and endeavouring to seduce the marquess to his interests by a promise that Edward

should be united to his daughter, the Lady Jane Grey. Dorset declares, "that the king's majesty hath divers times made his moan unto him, saying that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but my lord admiral both sends me money and gives me money." These revelations illustrate the characters both of the king and Somerset, as well as the doings of the lord admiral.

Intimation of Seymour's practices was given to his brother, while he was in Scotland in September, 1547, by Paget, who had previously remonstrated with the admiral on the course he was pursuing. It is uncertain whether there was any reconciliation between them before the parliament met in November; but, soon after, matters were brought to a crisis, by the lord admiral's project of inducing the king to write the letter recommending his appointment as governor of the royal person. Burnet's narrative would seem to imply that the letter had been actually copied and subscribed by the king; but this is inconsistent both with what the admiral is made to say in his answer to the charges of the council, and with Edward's own account. When the council discovered what he was about, they sent some of their members to confer with him in his brother's name, and to urge him to proceed no farther; but he refused to listen to them; and he paid as little regard to an order of the council which was then issued summoning him to appear before them. When they passed a resolution, however, that he should be sent to the Tower, and deprived of all his offices, he deemed it prudent to make his submission; and, for the present, the affair ended by a seemingly perfect reconciliation being effected between the two brothers. In the course of the following year the admiral was gratified by a grant of a large addition to his revenues from the crown.

But neither this bribe nor the escape he had made drew Seymour from the path of his restless ambition. We have seen, that before the end of this same year he had again begun to practise upon the king and the persons about his majesty by secret gifts of money. For

some time, however, he restrained his bold and haughty temper so far as not to commit himself in any direct attempt to upset his brother's power. While he was thus lying in wait for what the course of events might produce, his wife, the Queen-dowager Catherine, died, after giving birth to a daughter, on the last day of September, 1548. From some expressions that fell from her in her last hours, a suspicion arose that she had been poisoned or otherwise made away with by the act of her husband; but we are not entitled, from anything that is known of Seymour, to think it probable that he could be guilty of so black a crime as this; and the circumstances, as far as they have come down to us, do not lend any countenance to a surmise which the partiality of some modern writers to the memory of the one brother seems chiefly to have inclined them to adopt against the other.

"It is objected and laid unto your charge," say the council, in one of their articles exhibited against the lord admiral, "that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown, but also, being then let (hindered) by the lord protector and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said Lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same." The evidence contained in the Burghley Papers, if it does not completely sustain this charge, at least supplies a very interesting and remarkable chapter in the biography of the great Elizabeth. It should appear that Seymour, whatever were his designs upon the princess, had in his interest, or, at any rate, as favourably disposed to him as he could desire, no less convenient a personage than her highness's governess, a Mrs. Catherine Ashley. Thomas Parry, the cofferer of the princess's household, relates a conversation he had with this lady, in which she admitted to him that even the Duchess of Somerset had found great fault with her

"for my Lady Elizabeth's going in a night in a barge upon Thames, and for other light parts," and had told her, in consequence, that she was not worthy to have the governance of a king's daughter. On the subject of the court paid by the admiral to the princess, "I do remember also," says Parry, "she told me that the admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the queen (Catherine Parr) was jealous on her and him, in so much that one time the queen, suspecting the often access of the admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms, wherefore the queen fell out both with the lord admiral and with her grace also. And hereupon the queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter; and of this was much displeasure." At this time, it appears, the princess was living with the queen-dowager; but, immediately after the above incident, she either removed of her own accord, or was sent away. But Mrs. Ashley may be allowed to speak for herself, at least in so far as her somewhat naïvely expressed details will bear to be quoted. In her "Confession," in which of course she confesses as little as possible against herself, she states that, at Chelsea, immediately after he was married to the queen, the admiral used frequently to come into the Lady Elizabeth's chamber before she was ready, and sometimes before she was out of bed. If she were up, he would slap her familiarly on the back or on the hips; "and if she were in her bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and make as though he would come at her; and she would go further in the bed, so that he could not come at her. And one morning he strave to have kissed her in her bed." At this last and some other instances of boldness Mrs. Ashley professes to have been duly shocked, and to have rebuked the admiral as he deserved. Other instances of the admiral's audacity are given, but these may serve as sufficient specimens. Mrs. Ashley admits she had reason to suppose that the queen was jealous of the familiarity betwixt her husband and the princess; and "she saith also, that Mr. Ashley,

her husband, hath divers times given this examinate warning to take heed, for he did fear that the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my lord admiral; she seemed to be well pleased therewith; and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of." Elizabeth also makes her "Confession" among the rest; but it relates merely to what had passed between her and Mrs. Ashley after the queen's death, on the subject of the lord admiral's wish to marry her, and, as might be expected, contains nothing to her own disadvantage. She maintains that Mrs. Ashley never advised the marriage except on condition it should prove agreeable to the protector and the council. In a letter, however, which she wrote from Hatfield to the protector in January, 1549, while the proceedings against Seymour were in progress, she mentions a circumstance which we should not otherwise have known—namely, that rumours had got abroad that she was "in the Tower and with child by my lord admiral." These imputations she declares to be "shameful slanders," and requests that, to put them down, she may be allowed to come immediately to court. It appears, however, that all these examinations gave her no little disturbance and alarm, though, young as she was —only entering upon her sixteenth year—she bore herself, in the delicate and difficult position in which she was thereby placed, with a wonderful deal of the courage and politic management that she evinced on so many occasions in her after life.

The lord admiral's renewal of his pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth after the death of his queen, seems to have at once brought matters to another open quarrel between him and his brother. The Marquess of Northampton, one of the persons whom he had sought to seduce to a participation in his designs, relates in his examination, or confession, that Seymour had told him "he was credibly informed that my lord protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my Lady Elizabeth." These threats, and the obstacle that presented itself to his schemes in the clause of the late king's will which provided that if either of the princesses

should marry without the consent of the council, she should forfeit her right of succession, roused all the natural impetuosity and violence of his temper, and drove him again to intrigues and plots, and other measures of desperation. One Wightman, who held an office in his establishment, stated to the council that he and others of his friends had earnestly dissuaded him "from writing of such sharp and unsavoury letters to my lord protector's grace," but without effect. It is asserted, that seeing he could not otherwise achieve his object, he resolved to seize the king's person, and to carry him away to his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire, one of the properties he had acquired by the late royal grant; that for the furtherance of this and his ulterior designs, he had confederated with various noblemen and others; that he had so travailed in the matter as to have put himself in a condition to raise an army of ten thousand men out of his own tenantry and other immediate adherents, in addition to the forces of his friends; and that he had got ready money enough to pay and maintain the said ten thousand men for a month.* He is also charged with having, in various ways, abused his authority and powers as lord admiral, and of having actually taken part with pirates against the lawful trader, "as though," says one of the articles, "you were authorized to be the chief pirate, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you."† All these proceedings, it is affirmed, were "to none other end and purpose but, after a title gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and money sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal by some heinous enterprise against the king's majesty's person."‡ The council do not venture to include in their indictment what Burnet has set down as one of the lord admiral's chief crimes, his having "openly complained that his brother intended to enslave the nation, and make himself master of all;" as a glaring proof of which he particularly

* Articles of High Treason, &c., 12—18.
† Ibid. 29. ‡ Ibid. 22.

pointed to a force of lansquenets which the protector had brought over and kept in his pay. It appears, from the Burghley Papers, that the immediate occasion of proceedings being taken against Seymour was a confession made to the council by Sir William Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, who had been taken up and examined on a charge of clipping, coining base money, and other frauds. Sharington had been, in the first instance, defended by the admiral, who, it appears, was his debtor to a considerable amount; but he eventually admitted his guilt, and informed the council, in addition, that he had been in league with the admiral to supply him with money for the designs that have just been recounted. There can be no doubt that Sharington made this confession to save his own life; in point of fact, he was, after a short time, not only pardoned, but restored to his former appointment. But the admiral was instantly (19th January, 1549) sent to the Tower.

Seymour had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while, "many complaints," as Burnet observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance themselves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed. Attempts were made to persuade him to submit himself, by working both upon his fears and his hopes: but he would confess no part of the treasonable designs imputed to him. There is, indeed, no proof or probability whatever that his views extended to anything beyond the supplanting of Somerset; it was a struggle for ascendancy between the two brothers, and nothing more. The proceedings taken against the accused were, from the beginning to the end, a flagrant violation of all law and justice. After he had been several times secretly examined, without anything material being extracted from him, by deputations of the privy council, on the 23rd of February the whole council proceeded in a body to the Tower, with the charges against him drawn out in thirty-three articles, to endea-

vour to bring him to submission. But to all their threats and persuasions he insisted, as he had all along done, upon an open trial, and being brought face to face with his accusers. At last he so far yielded to their importunities as to say that, if they would leave the articles with him, he would consider of them; but even with this proposal they refused to comply. The next day, "after dinner," the lord chancellor, in the presence of the other councillors, "opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament." It is pretended that this was the first time the subject had been mentioned—at least at the council-board—to Edward; and, therefore, the greater admiration was called forth by the prompt judgment of the youthful sovereign, and the equanimity with which he consented to sacrifice his uncle to the public weal. After each of the other councillors had expressed his approbation of the course recommended by the chancellor, and, last of all, the protector, who protested "this was a most sorrowful business to him, but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood," his majesty answered, "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my lord admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request." The very next day, a bill of attainder against the lord admiral was brought into the House of Lords; all the judges and the king's council gave it as their opinion that the articles amounted to treason; various lords, who had already made depositions against the accused, repeated their evidence; and the bill was at last passed without a division. Somerset himself was present at each reading. On the same day (the 27th) it was sent down to the Commons. But here it encountered at first considerable opposition. "Many argued against attainders in absence, and thought it an odd way, that some peers should rise up in their places in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted

therefore it was pressed that it might be done by a trial, and that the admiral should be brought to the bar, and be heard plead for himself."* This hesitation was at first attempted to be met by a message from the other House, repeating, what had been intimated when the bill was first sent down, that the lords who were acquainted with the facts would, if required, repeat their evidence before the Commons. But it was not deemed requisite even to go through this formality. On the 4th of March a message came from the king, which stated that "he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral;" and thereupon the bill was agreed to, in a house of about four hundred members, not more than ten or twelve voting in the negative.† The parliament having been prorogued on the 14th—on which day the royal assent was given to the bill—on the 17th the council issued the warrant for the admiral's execution. Burnet notices it as "a little odd," that this order of blood should be signed by Cranmer—a thing which he says was contrary to the canon law; but he makes no remark upon what will appear to most persons a still stranger indecorum, and a violation almost of the law of nature—that the first name attached to it should be that of the condemned man's own brother!‡ The Bishop of Ely was immediately sent to convey to Seymour the determination of the government, and "to instruct and teach him the best he could to the quiet and patient suffering of justice." The bishop reported to the council that the prisoner "required Mr. Latimer to come to him; the day of execution to be deferred; certain of his servants to be with him; his daughter to be with my Lady Duchess of Suffolk to be brought up; and such like."§ To these requests the council

* Burnet.

† Strype, in his notes to Hayward, has given a full account of these proceedings from the Journals of the two Houses, to prove "how fairly he (the admiral) was judged and dealt with in the parliament."

‡ See it as published by Burnet himself in his Collection of Records.

§ Entry in Council Book, printed by Strype, Eccles. Mem.

instructed their secretary to write "*their resolute answer* to the said lord admiral;" by which appears to be meant that they put their negative upon most of them. The execution took place on Wednesday, the 20th, on Tower Hill, when Seymour died protesting that he had never committed or meant any treason against the king or the realm.* It should appear that he was attended, as he had requested, in his last moments by Latimer, whose zeal transported him to indulge in a very extraordinary strain of remark, both on his death and his life, in a sermon he preached before the king a few days after. It was commonly observed, it seems, that the admiral had died very boldly, and that "he would not have done so, had he not been in a just quarrel." This Latimer declares to be "a deceivable argument." "This I will say," he proceeds, "if they ask me what I think of his death, that he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." "He was," concludes the zealous orator, summing up his judgment in a way in which the facts he alleges certainly do not bear him out, "a man farthest from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England. . . . I have heard say he was of the opinion that he believed not the immortality of the soul,—that he was not right in the matter."† Some additional touches are given to the picture in another sermon:—"I have heard say, when that good queen (Catherine Parr) that is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer both before noon and after noon, the admiral gets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was a covetous man, an horrible covetous man; I would there were no mo in England. He was an ambitious man; I would there were no mo in England. He was a seditious man, a contemner of Common Prayer; I would there were no mo in England. He is gone; I would he had left none behind him." In ambition and covetousness, if not in

* Stow.

† Latimer's Fourth Sermon, in the first edition of his sermons, 8vo. The passage is erased in subsequent editions.

contempt of the Common Prayer, Seymour, it is to be feared, did leave at least one man behind him who was fully his match. His daughter, of whom Queen Catherine had died in childbed, was an infant of scarce six months old when she lost her second parent; soon after which event she was, as her father had requested, committed to the charge of the Duchess of Suffolk. As the child was utterly penniless, as well as an orphan, her uncle, the wealthy and powerful Lord Protector, in thus consigning her to the hands of strangers, promised that an annual sum should be allowed for her maintenance, and that a quantity of plate and other furniture which she had had in her nursery should be sent along with her to the house of the Duchess of Suffolk. It will hardly be believed that neither the allowance in money nor even the plate and other articles could be got for many months out of the hard gripe of Somerset and his duchess: indeed, it is more than probable they never were obtained. But if Somerset ever did make any allowance for the support of his niece, he was very soon delivered from the burden, for in a few months more the poor child followed its parents to the grave.

The tragedy of the lord admiral was followed by a summer of popular tumult and confusion, such as had not been known in England since the rebellion of Jack Cade, almost exactly a hundred years before. Several causes of various kinds concurred at this crisis to throw the peasantry in all parts of the country into a state of extraordinary excitability, or what may be called a predisposition to disorder and insurrection. The following passage occurs in a letter written by the protector himself:—"The causes and pretences of these uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every camp (as they call them), that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and that would have they wot not what. Some crieth, Pluck down enclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend the religion; a number would rule another while, and direct things as the gentlemen have done; and, indeed, all

have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and taketh them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them and the soldiers, which be the chief doers, look for spoil. So that it seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury amongst the vilest and worst sort of men."* The discontent of the people, in fact, as usually happens, appears to have originated in their actual sufferings, although it may have been blown into a flame by provocations addressed chiefly to their fancies and prejudices, and, of course, would then be apt to catch at whatever principle or arrangement chanced to come in its way in any part of the whole machine of government or of society. One leading cause of the economical embarrassment and distress in which the kingdom was at this time involved, appears to have been the excessive depreciation which the currency had undergone in the course of the late and the present reigns. This must necessarily have enhanced the nominal prices of the necessaries of life, and, if wages did not rise in proportion, must have pressed with cruel severity upon the labouring classes. But the rise of the remuneration for labour which, in a natural and healthy state of things, would have accompanied the rise of the money prices of all other things, is asserted to have been prevented in the present case by certain peculiar circumstances, which acted partly so as to diminish employment or the demand for labour, partly so as to augment the numbers of persons dependent upon labour. The cause that principally diminished the demand for labour is affirmed to have been the conversion of land from tillage to pasturage which was promoted by the increasing price of wool. It is certain that this change in the agriculture of the country was a subject of general complaint throughout a great part of the sixteenth century, and repeated attempts were even made by the legislature to restrain its progress, so that we must believe it to have actually, or at least apparently, taken place to some extent. But we are inclined to think that its real effect

* Printed by Burnet in Col. of Rec. from original in Cotton. MS. Galba B. xii.

upon the market of labour was greatly exaggerated in the popular imagination. It is, at least, not very easy to reconcile the alleged evil of diminished employment thence arising, with the nearly equally loud and frequent complaints which are at the same time made of the diminution of the population which is asserted to have followed from the same cause. We may observe, that the number of persons having the commodity called labour to dispose of had, from a succession of causes, been on the increase in England for the last two centuries. So long as the system of villenage subsisted in its integrity, there could, properly speaking, be no market of labour, in so far, at least, as regarded the business of agriculture, then constituting the great field of the national industry; the labourer then stood in the relation of a mere machine, requiring, indeed, like other machines, to be fed and maintained, but having nothing more to do with the disposal of his labour than a modern steam-engine. The decay, and eventually the extinction of villenage, first gave birth, as has been already shown, both to freedom of labour and to pauperism,—called into being at once the two classes of labourers for hire and paupers or beggars, which are really only the two divisions of one great class, that of the persons whose only exchangeable possession is their labour;—the former being those who have been able to dispose of this commodity, the latter those who have not. Every change that afterwards snapt any of the old attachments that had kept men practically fixed to the land, though not perhaps by any absolutely legal bond, added to the number of both of these sections of the population. This was one of the effects of the breaking up of the old Norman feudalism in the reign of Henry VII., by the new facilities given to the great landholders of alienating their estates. It was also one of the effects of the overthrow of the old ecclesiastical system in the last and the present reign. The numerous monastic establishments all had, as well as the great landholders, their crowds of retainers and dependents—partly tenants and servants who lived upon their estates, partly paupers and mendicants, who were fed by their

charity. There were also the inmates of the religious houses themselves, male and female, a far from insignificant addition. All these persons, or at least by far the greater number of them, were thrown loose from tenures of shelter and maintenance which might in the case of each of them be considered more or less fixed and sure, and were sent to swell the overflowing stream of that labour which had nothing but the chances of the market to trust to. And along with the other causes contributing to the same state of things may be mentioned even the uprooting of old feelings, habits, and connexions by the mere ferment excited in men's minds by the preaching of the new opinions in religion,—fiercely resisted by many,—eagerly received by others,—and by not a few carried out into all the extravagances of fanaticism and even of licentiousness. It could not be but that this general state of excitement, amounting in many cases to enthusiasm or delirium, should have made numbers of people impatient of all sober and regular industry, and set them adrift on the sea of life without either chart or aim. It is easy, from all this, to understand how the present insurrection took the shape and the spirit it did. Its chief cry soon came to be the restoration of the old religion, and vengeance against those who had wrought and profited by its downfall. The priests, of course, and other leaders of the popish party, found it easy to turn the gaze of the exasperated people upon the most immediate and obvious sources of their sufferings, or what could be plausibly represented as such, and did not neglect so favourable an occasion of stirring up their most energetic feelings in behalf of the ancient system and against the innovations, which seemed only to have benefited a few of the upper classes at the expense of the great mass of the nation.

From Holinshed's account, it would appear that a proceeding on the part of the protector, of very questionable wisdom, or, at any rate, managed with but little discretion, was the spark that kindled the flame. This was a proclamation which he issued "against enclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed

to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same, who had grievously complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the use of these fields and commons." It is probable enough that some landholders may have acted in a harsh and oppressive manner in thus improving their estates; but it does not appear that any legal rights were generally violated; and, at all events, if they were, this royal proclamation itself was as illegal and unjust as anything that the landlords could have done. It settled the matter in a very summary way indeed—simply commanding that all commons that had been enclosed should, under a penalty, be laid open again by a certain day. "But how well soever," proceeds the chronicler, "the setters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby, peradventure, to appease the grudge of the people that found themselves grieved with such enclosures, yet verily it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministered occasion of a foul and dangerous disorder. For whereas there were few that obeyed the commandment, the unadvised people presuming upon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it forth, rashly without order took upon them to redress the matter; and assembling themselves in unlawful wise, chose to them captains and leaders, broke open the enclosures, cast down ditches, killed up the deer which they found in parks, spoiled and made havock after the manner of an open rebellion." The narratives of the commencement of the disturbances are singularly various and contradictory. In fact, the convulsion, which probably broke out in different places nearly at the same time, seems to have rapidly spread in all directions, till it had extended itself over the greater part of the kingdom. According to Burnet, the protector's proclamation against the enclosures, which was "set out contrary to the mind of the whole council," appeared *after* the first risings in Wilts and elsewhere; it was designed to pacify the people, and was accompanied with another, indemnifying or pardoning the insurgents for what was past, provided they should carry themselves obediently for the future. "Commissions," proceeds the historian,

"were also sent everywhere, with an unlimited power to the commissioners to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. The vast power these commissioners assumed was much complained of; the landlords said it was an invasion of their property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the matters, without proceeding in the ordinary courts according to law." A more illegal and arbitrary act, indeed, than the issuing of these commissions never was attempted in the most despotic times. Nor, prompted as it was by a weak or interested craving after popularity, did it succeed in the only object it proposed to have, and for which all other considerations were disregarded, the satisfying of the popular clamour. "The commons," proceeds Burnet, "being encouraged by the favour they heard the protector bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the protector being opposed much by the council, he was not able to redress this grievance so fully as the people hoped. So in Oxfordshire and Devonshire they rose again, and also in Norfolk and Yorkshire." *

It seems to have been in Devonshire that the religious cry was first raised. Here the commons, besides "Humphrey Arundel, Esq., governor of the Mount," and other laymen, had for their captains a number of popish priests, by whose "instigation and pricking forward" they are said to have been chiefly excited and directed in their proceedings. Their rising began on the 10th of June, on which day they assembled in armed array to the number of nearly ten thousand

* See a long and interesting letter remonstrating with Somerset on the course he had taken in this instance, from his friend Paget, then ambassador at the court of the emperor, in Strype's Eccles. Mem. vi. 419—427. The writer points out, in strong terms, the ruinous tendency of the protector's mode of proceeding, and does not spare some explicit enough allusions to his motives.

men. "At court," says Burnet, "it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were; but the protector was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required." At last, after the rebels had sat down before Exeter, and had begun to assault that city, Lord Russell was sent to encounter them with a small force; but either he found them in too great strength to be prudently attacked, or he was restrained by his instructions from adopting decisive measures, and, keeping at a respectful distance from the insurgent camp, he announced that he was ready to receive any complaints they had to make, and to transmit them to the council. On this, Arundel and his followers drew up their demands first in seven, and afterwards in fifteen articles; the most material points of which were, that all the decrees of the general councils should be observed; that the Statute of the Six Articles should be again put in force; that the mass should be in Latin; that the sacrament should be hanged up and worshipped, and that those who refused to worship it should suffer as heretics; that the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter, and in one kind; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and that images should be set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies; that the priests should "sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play" (so they expressed their notion of the new Liturgy); that all preachers in their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be called in; that Cardinal Pole should be made one of the king's council; that every gentleman should be allowed only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent that belonged to him; that the half of the church lands should be given back to two of the chief abbeys in every county; and, finally, that other grievances, more particularly affecting themselves, should be redressed, as the king should be advised by Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin, for whom they desired a safe conduct. These

articles, which certainly do savour of priestly inspiration, were transmitted to the council, at whose command Cranmer, whose department they seemed principally to concern, drew up a formal and elaborate reply to them, in which they were not only rejected in the mass, but severally argued against as contrary to right reason and the Scriptures. The insurgents then reduced their demands to eight articles, being, in substance, a selection from their former propositions, with the addition of one, which it is strange should have been omitted in the first instance, insisting that priests should "live chaste without marriage." To these a long and eloquent answer was sent in the king's own name. Edward was made to begin by dilating in strong and large terms, but still in the tone of persuasion, upon the greatness of the royal authority, and the obligation that lay upon the subject to yield it all obedience. Some parts of the exposition he gave of the kingly office are curious and characteristic. The rebels had proposed that the settlement to be then made should stand till the king was of full age. In demonstration of the folly of this notion, Edward informs them that, although "as a natural man and creature of God," he had youth, and by his sufferance should have age, yet as a king he had no difference of years. They are afterwards asked to consider the folly they were committing in making it necessary that their king should spend that force upon them which he had meant to bestow upon their foreign enemies—"to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland." The message can hardly be said to be "all penned," as Burnet describes it, "in a high threatening style," but it must be allowed that it rises to that at the close. But the rebels, who by this time had been a whole month in arms—for the paper is dated the 8th of July—were neither to be moved by its threats nor by its reasonings. The citizens of Exeter, however, persisted in keeping their gates shut against them, although from the closeness with which they were beleagured, they were at length reduced to the most distressing extremities. The rebels were pre-

vided with ordnance, which they planted against the several gates of the town; and eventually they burned the gates, and "broke up the pipes and conduits, as well for the taking away of the water coming to the city, as also to have the lead to serve for their shot and pellets." On this the citizens erected ramparts within the openings thus made, which were found much more effective for defence than the wooden gates could have been. The besiegers next attempted to undermine the walls; but in this also they were foiled by the vigilance of the citizens, who, having discovered the trains, made them useless by deluging them with water. One great difficulty that the magistrates had to contend with was the existence of a powerful popish faction among the inhabitants. These having been prevented by the authorities from admitting the rebels, endeavoured, by many private communications and stratagems, to favour their enterprise and counteract the efforts that were made to oppose them. And, what was still more perplexing, a division at one time broke out in the protestant party, in consequence of a difference of opinion as to the measures to be adopted between two of their leaders, John Courtenay and Barnard Duffield, which rose to great violence. Want of victuals also at length began to pinch them. The prisoners in the gaol were forced to feed upon horseflesh. All this while Lord Russell had been prevented from taking any measures for the relief of the place by the extraordinary neglect or procrastination of the government, which, full of the conceit of pulling down the rebels by manifestoes or sermons, would neither send him a reinforcement of men nor any other supplies. When he sent Sir Peter Carew to the Court, that gallant person, who had acted with great promptitude and decision at the first breaking out of the revolt, and would probably have suppressed it at once if he had received any support from the government, was absurdly charged by Somerset with having been the sole occasion of it, the ready tongue of Rich, the chancellor, echoing his patron's accusation. Russell having long looked for the supplies in vain, "was daily more and more forsaken of such of the common people as

at the first served and offered their service unto him. And having but a very small guard about him, he lived in more fear than he was feared." At last some money was obtained by certain merchants of Exeter, who happened to be in the camp, pledging their credit to those of Bristol, Lynn, Taunton, and other towns. By this time the rebels were actually on their march to attack the king's troops, which were now stationed at Honiton; but Russell, whose spirits were raised by the supply of money, on hearing of their advance, marched forth to oppose them, and the two armies met at Fennington Bridge, where the rebels, in the end, sustained a complete overthrow. Shortly after, Lord Gray, with a troop of horse, and a band of three hundred Italian infantry under Spinola, at last arrived from the capital; and, thus strengthened, Russell marched upon Exeter, and, after defeating the rebels in another engagement, effected his entrance into the famished city on the 6th of August, and raised the siege, which had now lasted five weeks. Before this success was achieved, however, a deplorable affair happened. Lord Gray, espying a multitude assembled on a height, by whom he apprehended that he might be attacked, ordered the prisoners he had already taken—of whom the number was very considerable—to be all killed, which was done immediately, every man despatching those he had in charge. The despersion of the insurgents was followed by the same conduct on the part of the royal army as if they had put to rout a foreign enemy in his own country; "for the whole country was then put to the spoil, and every soldier sought for his best profit;" "a just plague of the Lord," adds the pious and protestant chronicler, "upon rebels and disloyal persons." Gibbets were also set up in various places, on which great numbers of the ringleaders in the rebellion were hanged. Others, and especially Arundel, the chief captain, were carried to London, and there executed. It was reckoned that about four thousand in all perished, by the sword or by the hands of the executioner, of those engaged in this Devonshire insurrection.

"About the same time," continues the chronicler, "that this rebellion began in the West, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; but they were speedily suppressed by the "Lord Gray of Wilton." Elsewhere, also, both in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom, similar attempts were made, and many disorders committed; but the only other quarter where the commotion rose to a serious height was in Norfolk. The Norfolk rebellion assumed a character altogether different from that of Devonshire, the complaints and demands of the people running, not at all, or very little, upon religion, but chiefly upon grievances affecting their worldly condition and points of temporal politics. They were first roused in the early part of the summer by the rumours of what had been done by the commons of Kent in throwing down ditches and hedges, and opening enclosures. The first general rising of the people took place on the 6th of July, at Wymondham, or Windham, about six miles from Norwich, on occasion of a public play "which play had been accustomed yearly to be kept in that town, continuing for the space of one night and one day at the least." They began in imitation of the Kentish men, by throwing down the ditches (or dikes) around enclosures; and, while they were thus employed, it is said that "one John Flowerdew of Hetherset, gentleman, finding himself grieved with the casting down of some ditches, came unto some of the rebels, and gave to them forty pence to cast down the fences of an enclosure belonging to Robert Ket, alias Knight, a tanner of Wymondham, which they did."* The tanner, however, was more than a match for the gentleman at this sort of work: he without difficulty induced the same mob that had torn down his fences to accompany him the next morning to certain pasture grounds belonging to Flowerdew, which were also surrounded with hedges and ditches. Flowerdew

* Ket, though a tanner, was wealthy, and the owner of several manors in the county of Norfolk.—See Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 281.

tried to persuade them to withdraw, but he could not rule or extinguish the flame so easily as he had blown it up. "Ket, being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt that should be taken in hand, was straight entered into such estimation with the commons thus assembled together in rebellious wise, that his will was accomplished; and so those hedges and ditches belonging to the pasture grounds of Master Flowerdew were thrown down and made plain. Hereupon was Ket chosen to be their captain and ringleader, who, being resolved to set all on six and seven, willed them to be of good comfort, and to follow him in defence of their common liberty, being ready in the commonwealth's cause, to hazard both life and goods." By accessions from all parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, the rioters, thus provided with a suitable leader, rapidly increased, till "there were assembled together into Ket's camp to the number of sixteen thousand ungracious unthriffs, who, by the advice of their captains, fortified themselves, and made provision of artillery, powder, and other habiliments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemen's houses, and other places where any was to be found; and withall spoiled the country of all the cattle, riches, and coin on which they might lay hands."*

As time passed and nothing was done to put them down, the congregated multitude of course grew more audacious, and proceeded to worse outrages. From spoiling the gentry of their goods, they proceeded to seize their persons, and to carry them off prisoners to their camp. "To conclude," says the chronicler, "they grew to such unmeasurable disorder, that they would not in many things obey neither their general captain, nor any of their governors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischief; and made such spoil of victuals which they brought out of the country adjoining unto their camp, that within few days they consumed (beside a great number of beeves) twenty thousand muttons, also swans, geese, hens, capons, ducks, and other fowls, so many as

* Holinshed.

they might lay hands upon. And, furthermore, they spared not to break into parks, and kill what deer they could." Meanwhile, the government stood by, and for the space of nearly a month allowed the insurrection to grow and prosper undisturbed. At last, on the 31st of July, a herald came from the council to the rebel camp, "and pronounced there, before all the multitude, with loud voice, a free pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laying aside their armour, give over their traitorous begun enterprise." But the only effect of his offer seems to have been to draw off some of the better sort, who had only joined the mob from compulsion or fear, and who now saw some prospect of being protected by the government. Ket himself, and the great mass of his followers, kept their attitude of defiance, or at least of refusal to submit, declaring that they needed no pardon, since they had done nothing but what belonged to the duty of true subjects. They even forced their way into the city of Norwich, and carried off to their camp all the guns, artillery, and ammunition they could find in it. When the herald made another proclamation at the market-place there, repeating the former offer, but threatening death to all who should not immediately accept the king's pardon, they bade him get him thence with a mischief; for they made no account of such manner of mercy. After this, every day swelled the number of Ket's followers. The herald's report convinced Somerset and the council that they would never put down the rebellion by proclamations; and then, at last, it was resolved to send against the Norfolk tanner a force of fifteen hundred horse under the Marquess of Northampton, together with "a small band of Italians (also mounted) under the leading of a captain named Malatesta." The marquess took up his quarters in the town of Norwich, which, in the first instance, he succeeded in clearing of the rebels; but the next day they forced their way back, drove out the king's troops, killing the Lord Sheffield and many other gentlemen, as well as taking many others prisoners; and finished their exploit by plundering and setting fire to the city. Northampton, with the remnant of his beaten

force, made all haste to London. It was now seen by the council that the business must be set about in another fashion: an army of about six thousand men was in readiness to serve in the war in the north: and "hereupon that noble chieftain and valiant Earl of Warwick, lately before appointed to have gone against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland, was called back and commanded to take upon him the conduction of this army against the Norfolk rebels."* Warwick with some difficulty forced his way into Norwich; but the incessant attacks of the rebels, and in part also, as it should appear, his insufficient supplies of ammunition, had made his position almost desperate, when he was relieved by the arrival, on the 26th of August, of a reinforcement of fourteen hundred lancequenets. The next day he marched out, and falling upon the enemy, who had descended from the hill, and were encamped in a valley called Dussingdale, had the fortune to achieve an easy and decisive victory. The rebels, at the first charge of the king's horse, turned round and fled: Ket, their great captain, or king, as he called himself, being, according to the chronicler, one of the foremost, and galloping away as fast as his horse would bear him. The chief slaughter was in the pursuit, which was continued for three or four miles; the several clusters of the unresisting multitude, as they were successively overtaken, were shorn down in heaps. It was reckoned that the number of dead bodies left on the ground exceeded three thousand five hundred. This bloody day put an end to the rebellion. Ket, abandoning or deserted by all his late followers and subjects, was the next day found concealed in a barn, and forthwith brought to Norwich. The executions were not numerous; nine of the ringleaders were hanged upon the nine branches of the Oak of Reformation; a few others were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and their heads and limbs set up in different parts of the kingdom;

* From a document which Strype has printed, Eccles. Mem. ii. 283, it appears that Somerset himself was, in the first instance, appointed to command the expedition against the rebels.

and Ket himself and his brother William, after being carried to London and consigned to the Tower, and being there arraigned and found guilty of treason, were sent back to Norfolk, and there hung in chains,—the one on the top of Norwich Castle, the other on Windham steeple.

In the north also, as well as in the east and the west, the same spirit of insurrection broke out among the people, but their rising was checked before it became general by the apprehension of their leaders, and by the discouraging failure of the similar attempts made in other quarters of the kingdom; for the Yorkshire men were somewhat later in stirring than their countrymen in Devonshire and Norfolk. In Yorkshire the spirit of attachment to the old religion, which animated the people of Devon and Cornwall, seems to have been combined with the same levelling notions that formed the principal incentive to the rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk. The Yorkshire insurgents had assembled in force to the number of above three thousand men, and had committed some murders and other grievous outrages, before they were put down and dispersed.

A revolt of the labouring against the wealthier classes was probably never attempted in any country in circumstances apparently more favourable for its success than those which the present state of England presented. The king was a minor, and the government a singularly weak one; the country was entangled in a foreign war, as well as torn by internal factions; economical difficulties added to the embarrassment of new and imperfectly settled institutions; all things on the side of authority, in short, were unusually exposed and enervated: on the other side there was all the strength, if not of real grievances, of what was the same thing, deep-seated feelings of dissatisfaction and resentment, and, if not of actual combination, at least of simultaneous action, and of a diffusion of the insurrectionary spirit which in respect of the mass of the commonalty might be called national or universal. There was also much sympathy on the part of a large portion of the rest of the nation with one of the principal

sustaining elements of the insurrection, the aversion to the innovations in religion; and, indeed, upon this common ground a considerable number of persons of the wealthier or more educated classes, landed proprietors, and popish priests, met and joined the insurgent labourers, and became their counsellors and leaders. That with all these advantages the attempt should have nevertheless so signally failed—been, not without some trouble, indeed, but yet so speedily and so completely put down—affords an impressive lesson of the hopelessness, in almost any circumstances, of a contest of force waged by the class whose only strength is its numbers against the classes wielding the property, the intelligence, and the established authority of a country.

All this time the war had continued to be carried on in Scotland, though with little activity on either side, and no very important results; for the English government was too much occupied with the disturbed state of affairs at home to be able to strike any great blow; and, on the other hand, a considerable falling off had taken place in the cordiality of the Scots and their French allies, as well as in the interest which the French king had in pushing operations with any extraordinary vigour. Henry had attained his main object for the present by getting the infant queen into his hands; and, at the same time, her departure could hardly fail in some degree to open the eyes of her subjects to considerations to which the impetuosity of their feelings had till now blinded them, and to awaken some reflections not of a kind to put them in very good humour either with their insinuating and dexterous allies or with themselves. Both the nation and the government now began to complain loudly of the insolence of D'Esse and his soldiers; nor did their mutual dislike vent itself merely in words. A short time before the French commander's last unsuccessful attempt upon Haddington, a most serious fray had happened between some of his men and the citizens of Edinburgh, in which the provost, or chief magistrate, and his son, and a considerable number more of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were killed in the

streets by the foreigners.* Towards the end of the year 1548 some English ships arrived in the Forth, and took and fortified the small isle of Inchkeith, but it was gallantly attacked and recovered by the French, after they had held it only sixteen days. The English were also driven out of Jedburgh, the castles of Hume and Fernihurst were retaken, and the French made an inroad across the borders, from which they returned with three hundred prisoners and a great quantity of booty. These successes, however, did not make D'Esse more popular with the Scots. According to Burnet, "the queen-mother and the governor had made great complaints of him at the court of France, that he put the nation to vast charge to little purpose, so that he was more uneasy to his friends than his enemies; and his last disorder at Edinburgh had, on the one hand, so raised the insolence of the French soldiers, and, on the other hand, so alienated and inflamed the people, that unless another were sent to command, who should govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of the whole kingdom." In consequence, D'Esse was recalled, and the command of the French forces in Scotland given to Marshal Termes.† In the course of the present year (1549) the Scots recovered, by force of arms, both Fastcastle, in the south, and the more important fortress of Broughty Castle, in the north. Haddington was once more plentifully supplied with provisions by the Earl of Rutland, newly appointed one of the wardens of the marches in the room of Lord Gray; but it was, notwithstanding, eventually found necessary to evacuate that town.‡ Before this war against England had been declared by the French king, he had already led an army into the Boulognnois, and with little difficulty made himself master of the forts of Selaques, Ambleteuse, Newcastle, Blackness, and others there. He afterwards sat down before

* Burnet.

† Brantome says that D'Esse requested leave of the king to return home, in consequence of a severe jaundice he had caught in Scotland.— *Vies des Grands Capitaines Francois.*

‡ Balfour Annals, i. 296.

Boulogne; and though the breaking out of the plague in the camp slackened their operations, and the coming on of winter finally induced them to raise the siege, the French succeeded in completely shutting up the English within the town; and as they had in their hands all the neighbouring forts, there could be little doubt that the place would fall as soon as the season should permit it to be reinvested.

For some time past, since the scheme of the Scottish marriage was become impracticable, the protector had been desirous to make peace both with Scotland and France, and he was now willing to agree to surrender Boulogne to Henry for a sum of money in order to facilitate that arrangement. It is probable that the last-mentioned measure, however really wise and prudent, would not have had the national voice in its favour; at any rate, Somerset, in this instance, yielded to the representations of the council, who unanimously remonstrated against the proposal as fraught with the deepest dishonour, their consciousness of having the popular feeling on their side having apparently emboldened them to assume a more spirited tone than usual.

The storm was now fast gathering around the head of the protector which was to throw him to the ground. The series of military losses and unsuccessful operations in Scotland and France raised a mass of dissatisfaction. His management of public affairs, indeed, in everything except in the advancement of the alterations in religion,—and there nothing had yet been securely settled, and whatever had been done, or attempted, was, to a great part of the nation, the very reverse of acceptable,—had been, from the beginning, little else than a continued course of blundering and misfortune. If disaster and disgrace had attended the national arms abroad, at home the kingdom had been involved in all the confusion and misery of civil war. Even the reputation that was to be gained in the contest of arms with the rebels he had left to be gathered by others—and of all others by the very man by whose military talents he had already scarcely escaped from being outshone on the only occasion he had

had of distinguishing himself in that way since he had been placed at the head of affairs. From the moment of the suppression of the rebellion the protector had almost an avowed rival and competitor for the supreme power in the Earl of Warwick. Warwick's instigator, again, is affirmed by Burnet to have been the ex-chancellor Southampton, who, although brought back, as we have seen, into the council, "had not," says the right reverend historian, "laid down his secret hatred of the protector, but did all he could to make a party against him." In other quarters, the wily ex-chancellor, from a memory stored with personal and party injuries, would bring out, to undermine his old enemy, each dubious or discreditable passage of his career, as suited the occasion, or the temper and position of the parties he addressed. Above all, to the generality, and to those even whose interests attached them to the maintenance of the protector's authority, he would appeal with the blood-curdling question, what friendship, when his ambition stood in the way, could any expect from a man who had no pity on his own brother? The old nobility had hated Somerset from the first, as an upstart, and as one who laboured to build his greatness on their depression, and on the general subversion of the ancient order of things with which they were identified. But the arrogance with which he had borne himself disgusted many others, as well as those belonging to this class, with whom he had come in contact, and made him bitter and powerful enemies on all hands. The very men who had chiefly aided in making him what he was, finding their services requited only with his endeavours to kick down the props upon which he had risen, had, for the most part, in their hearts, if not openly, fallen off from him; and even in the council there was scarcely a member upon whose attachment he could count except his friends Paget and Cranmer. Nor had his late conduct even advanced him in the regard of the multitude, whose voices he had always shown himself so anxious to secure. Even his darling popularity must have suffered no little diminution by the state to which the affairs of the kingdom

had been brought by his administration both at home and abroad. Then his assumption and rapacity were every day becoming more inordinate and glaring, and had now reached a height that shocked the public sense of decency as well as of justice. Burnet admits that "many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him for obtaining his favour." He had got a patent, it seems, authorising him to take possession of such church lands, on pretence of rewarding him for his services in the Scottish war—in which patent, by the by, drawn up of course by his own directions, the vain man had caused himself to be styled "Duke of Somerset *by the grace of God*," as if he had been a sovereign prince. It was also said, Burnet tells us, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates, for which it was concluded he had great presents. But the most obtrusive exhibition he made at once of his vanity and of his grasping and unscrupulous practice of appropriation, was in the erection of a new palace for himself in London,—the same that has bequeathed his name to the present Somerset House, in the Strand, which stands on the site that it occupied. Not only did the rise of this vast and splendid pile expose its owner to the reflection, "that when the king was engaged in such wars, and when London was much disordered by the plague, that had been in it for some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England;"* men's indignation was excited by many arbitrary exertions of power, in violation both of public and of private rights, to which he did not hesitate to resort in rearing this superb monument of his greatness. Besides compelling three bishops to surrender to him their episcopal mansions, he had removed altogether a parish church which stood in the way of his plans, and had not only pulled down many other religious buildings in the neighbourhood for the sake of their materials, but had, with barbarous recklessness, defaced and broken to pieces the ancient monuments they contained,

* Burnet.

and even irreverently removed and scattered the bones of the dead. It was impossible that such proceedings should not expose the protector's protestantism to the imputation of being at least as profitable as it was conscientious.

During all the month of September (1549) there were great heats in the council; the enemies of the protector now no longer shrunk from speaking out, and avowing their determination to strip him of his exorbitant power. By the beginning of October the quarrel had arisen almost to a contest of arms. "The council," says the graphic account given by the king in his Journal, "about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He, fearing his state, caused the secretary, in my name, to be sent (from Hampton Court, where Edward then was, along with Somerset, Cranmer, and Paget) to the Lords (of the council in London), to know from what cause they gathered their powers together, and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of October, and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton Court, about five hundred harnesses, to arm both his and my men, with all the gates of the house to be rampired, people to be raised:—people came abundantly to the house." While the protector was making these preparations at Hampton Court, Warwick and the other lords of the council were assembled at Ely Place, in London, from which they despatched orders for the attendance of the lieutenant of the Tower, and of the lord mayor and aldermen, all of whom appeared and consented to submit to their orders. They also wrote to the nobility and gentry in the different parts of the kingdom, informing them of their designs and motives. "That night," continues the king, "with all the people, at nine or ten of the clock of the night, I went to Windsor, and there was watch and ward kept every night." In point of fact, Edward was carried to Windsor by his uncle, with an

escort of five hundred men, both Cranmer and Paget accompanying them. Somerset's first impulse was to set his enemies at defiance; besides surrounding himself with an armed force, as here related, and securing the king's person, before leaving Hampton Court he wrote to his friend Lord Russell, who was still in the west country, calling upon him to hasten to the defence of the king's majesty in his castle of Windsor.* But this bold resolution speedily evaporated; the next day he wrote to the council at London, informing them, that, provided they intended no hurt to the king's majesty's person, touching all other private matters they would find him disposed to agree to any reasonable conditions they might require. The council must have seen from this humble—almost suppliant—communication that the late dictator lay at their feet. They took no notice of his proposal for an accommodation, but, proceeding to the lord mayor's house, there drew up and forthwith published a proclamation, in which, after enumerating their several grounds of dissatisfaction with the "malicious and evil government" of the lord protector,—the late sedition of which he had been the occasion,—the losses in France,—his ambition and seeking of his own glory, "as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings, and specially in the time of the king's wars, and the king's soldiers unpaid,"—his having held in no esteem "the grave counsel of the counsellors,"—his having sown sedition between the nobles, the gentlemen and the commons,—and his having slandered the council to the king, and done what in him lay to cause variance between the king and his nobles,—they declared him to be "a great traitor," and therefore "desired the city and commons to aid them to take him from the king." The next day, the 8th, they went to the Guildhall, where the common-council being assembled, and having listened to a narrative of all that had been done,

* See the letter, with the Lord Russell's somewhat ambiguous, but on the whole discouraging, answer, in Fox and Holinshed.

"declared they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their lives and goods."* Meanwhile, Somerset, quailing under the prospect that was becoming darker every hour, had made another effort to save himself by a private appeal to his great rival Warwick, whom he reminded of the friendship of their early days, and of the favours he had since conferred upon him; but Warwick was not the man to be drawn off from his object by such sentimentalities. At length, finding all negotiation hopeless, he consented that a warrant should be sent to London, under the king's hand, inviting the council to come to Windsor. On the 12th of October, accordingly, the whole of the Lords, now twenty-two in number, repaired thither: on the 13th they assembled in council, and examined Secretary Smith and others of Somerset's adherents or servants, who, as well as himself, had been previously placed under arrest; on the 14th the protector was called before them, when the treasons and misdemeanors with which he was charged were formally exhibited to him drawn up in no fewer than twenty-eight articles; and on the same day his royal nephew was conveyed back to Hampton Court, and he himself was sent to the Tower under the conduct of the Earls of Sussex and Huntingdon.

This revolution at once placed the government in the hands of Warwick, with almost the same substantial power that had been wielded by the overthrown protector. For a moment Southampton hoped to share the supreme authority with the new lord of the ascendant, whose rise he had so materially assisted—perhaps to continue to direct him as his protegé, or instrument; and the popish party eagerly expected that a large share in the management of affairs would fall into the hands of one whose attachment to that interest was secured both by the pertinacity of his temper and by the whole course of his life, which had so conspicuously identified him with its maintenance and championship. But the man

* Burnet, from Minutes of the Council.

of intrigue proved no match in the circumstances in which they were now placed for the man of the sword; Southampton was not even restored to his former office of chancellor; he and Warwick soon became wholly alienated from each other; he was removed from the council in the beginning of the following year, and soon after died, either of mere vexation and disappointment, or, as it was reported, having terminated his existence by poison. Warwick, too, was held to be inclined in his heart to the old religion; but he had no principles upon this or any other subject that he would allow for a moment to stand in the way of the interests of his ambition, and he very soon not only wholly forsook the popish party, but took up a profession of zeal for further ecclesiastical changes that outran the views of most Protestants.

The parliament re-assembled on the 4th of November; and, before the end of the year, acts were passed for the prevention of unlawful assemblies; against prophecies concerning the king or his council; and for repealing the late law on the subject of vagabonds, which had been found too severe to be carried into effect. It was not till the 2nd of January, 1550, that the case of the Duke of Somerset was brought forward, by a bill of pains and penalties being read for the first time against him in the House of Lords, the allegations in which, being the same twenty-eight articles on which he was consigned to the Tower, were supported by a confession, signed with his own hand, which he had made on his knees before the king and the council on the preceding 13th of December. He had submitted to this humiliation, it seems, on an assurance being given to him that he should be gently dealt with if he would submit himself to the king's mercy. The bill, which inflicted deprivation of all his offices, and forfeiture of all his personal property, and of 2000*l.* a-year of his revenue from his lands, passed both houses without opposition. He remonstrated against the heavy amount of the fine; but, on receiving a harsh reply from the council, he shrunk back immediately to an attitude of the humblest submission, and expressed his thankful-

ness to them and the king that they had been content with merely fining him, when they might have justly taken his life. On the 6th of February he was released from the Tower; and on the 16th of the same month he received a pardon. "After that," says Burnet, "he carried himself so humbly, that his behaviour, with the king's great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th of April after he was restored into favour, and sworn of the privy council."

Immediately after the rising of parliament the appointments of great master of the household and lord high-admiral were conferred upon Warwick; and the lords Russell and St. John were created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire, and advanced to the offices, the first of lord privy seal, the second of lord treasurer. In the end of March, after some weeks of negotiation, a peace was concluded both with France and Scotland; the principal condition of which was the surrender to France of Boulogne, —that measure which, when proposed by the late lord protector, the same members of the council who now assented to it had exclaimed against as the consummation of national disgrace. All that was stipulated to be received in return for this concession by England was a payment of two hundred thousand crowns at the time of the delivery of the town, and of as much more in five months after, under the name of a compensation for the cost of keeping up the fortifications while it had been in the possession of this country. The late French king had, in 1546, agreed to give Henry VIII. two millions of crowns for the surrender of Boulogne at the expiration of eight years. The pension which Francis had bound himself to pay to Henry and his successors, with its arrears, was also now given up. In truth, however, the discredit of this treaty, though it was concluded by the present, belongs to the former government; for peace upon almost any terms had been rendered absolutely necessary by the losses already incurred, and the exhausted state to which the finances of the kingdom were reduced.

The remainder of this and the early part of the

following year were principally occupied with the affairs of religion and of the church. Although no Catholic was burned in this reign, the horrid immolation of men and of women, for their opinions in religion, was not altogether laid aside. The 2nd of May this year witnessed the execution at Smithfield, by the customary mode of death allotted for heretics, of a female named Joan Bocher,* or Joan of Kent. Joan, who appears to have been a person of some education, and of a respectable rank in life, had been apprehended more than a year before for holding and disseminating certain peculiar notions about the incarnation of Christ, to the effect, as far as the expressions attributed to her are intelligible, that his body was not really, but only apparently of human flesh. Being brought before a commission appointed to examine and search after all Anabaptists and other heretics and contemners of the Common Prayer, of which Cranmer was the head, she rejected all their persuasions to recant her opinions; and was thereupon condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power. The young king, however, with the unperverted feeling natural to his years, shrunk from signing the warrant for burning her, on which Cranmer was appointed to reason him out of his scruples; but all the elaborate arguments of the archbishop failed to satisfy him; and although he at last consented, with tears in his eyes, to set his hand to the paper, he told Cranmer that, if the act was wrong, it was he (Cranmer) who must answer for it to God, since it was done only in submission to his authority. It is supposed that, struck with some uncomfortable feelings by this solemn admonition, Cranmer would gladly have escaped from the execution of the sentence; and both he and Ridley took great pains to prevail upon Joan to save her life by abjuration. But the enthusiast, courting martyrdom, treated all their exhortations with contempt; and she was at last consigned to the flames. About a year after (6th April, 1551) another heretic was burned

* Strype gives her name Joan Bocher, or Kncl.

in the same place,—a Dutchman, named Von Paris, who resided in London in the practice of his profession of a surgeon: his crime was the denial of the divinity of Christ. He underwent his death with great firmness. Burnet admits that no part of Cranmer's life exposed him to more obloquy than the part he took in these executions: "it was said he had consented both to Lambert's and Anne Askew's death in the former reign, who both suffered for opinions which he himself held now; and he had now procured the death of these two persons; and when he was brought to suffer himself afterwards, it was called a just retaliation on him."

In August, 1549, Bonner, bishop of London, was summoned before the council, and, after being sharply reprimanded for his contumacy, was directed to preach at Paul's Cross on the 1st of September, that he might give proof of his orthodoxy and submission to the established order of things both in church and state. His sermon did not give satisfaction: being appointed to appear before Cranmer, Ridley, and others, to answer for what he had said, or had omitted to say, he conducted himself with extraordinary boldness, and, indeed, set his judges at defiance; and the affair ended by sentence of deprivation being pronounced upon him, and his being consigned to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner throughout the remainder of this reign. In April, 1550, the vacant see of London was filled by the transference of Ridley from Rochester. The council next proceeded to deal with the cases of three other recusant bishops who lay imprisoned in the Tower,—Gardiner of Winchester, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, all of whom refused to make submission, and were eventually deprived, and remanded into confinement, as Bonner had been, in the course of this and the two following years. In most of the re-arrangements that took place in consequence of these ejections, the opportunity was taken of obtaining something more from the wealth of the church for the members of the government and their friends. Thus, when Ridley went to London, the lately established bishopric of Westminster was sup-

pressed; its revenues, amounting to 526*l.*, were made over to the see of London, with the exception of rents to the amount of 100*l.* reserved by the king; and the lands which had hitherto belonged to the latter see, yielding a rent of 480*l.*, were immediately granted to certain of the king's ministers and officers of the household: Lord Wentworth, the chamberlain, had 245*l.*; Sir Thomas Darcy, the vice-chamberlain, 194*l.*; and Rich, the chancellor, 39*l.**

One of the new episcopal appointments occasioned for some time no little trouble and disputation—that of the celebrated preacher John Hooper, afterwards the illustrious martyr, to the see of Gloucester, to which he was nominated in July, 1550. Hooper, however, who had imbibed from an intercourse with certain Calvinistic and other foreign divines, a predilection for those views in religion afterwards known by the name of Puritanism, at first obstinately refused to receive consecration in the canonical habits; nor could all the logic and eloquence of Cranmer and Ridley, nor even the persuasion of his friends Bucer and Peter Martyr, who in great part shared his own peculiar opinions, for a long time induce him to yield the point. At last, in January, 1551, he was, by royal warrant, committed for his contumacy to the Fleet; and here he lay till he consented to the compromise that he should be attired in the prescribed vestments at his ordination, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, or in any public place, but should be excused from wearing them upon other occasions. On these conditions he was consecrated bishop.

Another affair that considerably embarrassed the government, was the contumacy of the Lady Mary, the king's eldest sister, and the heiress presumptive to the crown. Soon after the commencement of the present reign this princess had written to Somerset, expressing her opinion that all further changes in religion, till her brother should be of age, were contrary to the respect he and his colleagues in the government owed to the memory

* Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 354.

of the late king, and could only have the effect of endangering the public peace. In reply, the protector addressed a long and earnest exhortation to her, in which he intimated that he believed her letter had not proceeded from herself.* After the passing of the statute for uniformity of worship, Mary was informed by the council (in June, 1549) that her chaplains could no longer be suffered to perform mass even in her private chapel; but after some controversy, on the interposition of her uncle the emperor, whose assistance the government was at this time soliciting, it was agreed that the new law should not be enforced in her case, at least for the present. The agitation of the subject, however, was renewed after the conclusion of the peace with France. All the applications of the emperor's ambassadors, in favour of his niece, were for many months met by the government with a peremptory refusal. It was then rumoured that she designed to quit the kingdom, on which, in August, 1550, a fleet was sent to sea to prevent her escape. In December following two of her chaplains were indicted. At last, in March, 1551, she appeared personally before the council, when her royal brother himself brought all his stores of theological learning and powers of reasoning to bear upon her obstinacy; but still her resolution remained unshaken. The next day (19th March) the imperial ambassador delivered a message from his master, that if the requested indulgence should not be granted to the princess, the emperor would immediately declare war. This intimation staggered the council, and at the moment no answer was returned. But, on the following day (the 20th), Cranmer, along with Ridley and Poynet, having come to the king, and, as he tells us in his Journal, declared it to be their opinion that, though to give licence to sin was sin, yet to suffer and wink at it for a time was excusable, Edward was persuaded to give way: "yet not so easily," says Burnet, "but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer

* Burnet, Records.

her to continue in so abominable a way of worship as he esteemed the mass." The attempts to induce the princess to conform were soon renewed. In August following the chief officers of her household were commanded to prevent the use of the Romish service in her family, and on their refusal to comply were committed to the Tower. After that the lord chancellor and others of the chief members of the council were sent to hold a conference with her on the subject at her residence of Copthall, in Essex; but she continued, as before, immoveable.

Since his liberation in February, 1550, the late lord protector, though stripped of wealth as well as of power, had been restored to as much of court favour as his nephew could venture to show him under the rule of the new dictator. Warwick probably calculated that in reducing him to contempt he had effected his political extinction not less completely than if he had taken his life; and he appears also to have hoped that, after having thus kicked the duke down, he might even be able to make out of one so nearly related to the crown a useful prop of his own rising fortunes. An apparently complete reconcilement accordingly took place between the two; and on the 3rd of June the Lord Lisle, the Earl of Warwick's eldest son, was married at Richmond, in the presence of the king, to the Lady Ann, one of the daughters of the Duke of Somerset.* It was impossible, however, that the fallen lord protector, and the man who had supplanted him, could ever cease to be rivals and enemies at heart so long as either lived. It appears that before the expiration of this same year

* On this occasion "a fair dinner" was made, which was followed by dancing, and that by foot-races between various noblemen and gentlemen. On the next day, the 4th, Warwick's third son, Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards the famous Earl of Leicester, was married to the daughter of Sir John Robsart; "after which marriage," says the entry in the king's Journal, "there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross-posts."

Somerset had begun to take secret measures for recovering his former office. Under the date of the 16th of February, 1551, the king's Journal states that a person named Whaley "was examined for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the Duke of Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the Earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly." On this investigation being instituted, Somerset's friend, Lord Gray, hastily took his departure for the north, probably with the design of making a stand there, and the duke himself was making ready to follow him, when he was stopped by being assured that no injury was intended to him, and the matter was allowed to drop. In a month or two after, however, Warwick was made uneasy by the report of the duke being engaged in new intrigues. Burnet admits that Somerset "seemed to have designed, in April this year, to have got the king again in his power, and dealt with the Lord Strange, that was much in his (the king's) favour, to persuade him to marry his daughter Jane." But the gathering storm was again dispersed for the present by the formality of a fresh reconcilement between the two parties. In May following the Marquess of Northampton was sent as ambassador to Paris to demand for Edward the hand of Henry's daughter Elizabeth; this proposal was immediately assented to by the French king: after some negotiation it was settled that the portion of the princess should be two hundred thousand crowns (which was only about a tenth part of what the English commissioners had asked in the first instance), and that she should be sent over, "at her father's charge, three months before she was twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed."*

In the following September Warwick procured for himself the important post of Warden of the Scottish Marches, which enabled him to take effective measures for cutting off Somerset's retreat to the north in case matters should again come to such a pass between them as to drive his adversary into open revolt; and in the

* King's Journal.

beginning of October he got himself created Duke of Northumberland, his friends and dependents the Marquess of Dorset, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Sir William Herbert, being at the same time made respectively Duke of Suffolk, Marquess of Winchester, and Earl of Pembroke. Five days after the announcement of these new honours, namely, on Friday the 16th of October, the capital was startled with the sudden intelligence of the arrest of the Duke of Somerset, on a charge of conspiracy and high treason, and his committal to the Tower. He was seized in the afternoon while on his way to the court at Westminster; Lord Gray and others of his friends were apprehended the same day; and the day after, the duchess, some of her female attendants, and a number of other persons, were all made prisoners.

Such of the persons apprehended as were willing to give evidence were now called before the council and examined. Among these, according to the king's Journal, Palmer repeated at least so much of the story of the duke's accusers as related to a plot for a revolt in London. If the attempt upon the gendarmerie had failed, the duke, according to the witness, was to "run through London and cry 'Liberty! liberty!' to raise the apprentices and rabble: if he could he would go to the Isle of Wight, or to Poole." On the 26th, "Crane," says the king, "confessed the most part, even as Palmer did before, and more also, how that the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads stricken off, was the Lord Paget's house..... Hammond also confessed the watch he (the duke) kept in his chamber at night. Brett also confessed much of this matter. The Lord Strange confessed how the duke willed him to stir me to marry his third daughter, the Lady Jane, and willed him to be his spy in all matters of my doings and sayings, and to know when some of my council spoke secretly with me: this he confessed of himself." How these depositions were procured we have no account; the king does not appear to speak of them as being taken

in his presence, but rather as merely reported to him by the council. Meanwhile everything possible was done by the government to excite a strong feeling of public alarm. On the 17th "there were letters sent to all emperors, kings, ambassadors, noblemen, men, and chief men, into countries of the late conspiracy:"* and on the 22nd, all the crafts and corporations of the city were informed by a message from the king that the Duke of Somerset would have taken the Tower, seized on the broad seal, and destroyed the city, and were charged carefully to ward the several gates, and to appoint watches to patrol all the streets.

The indictment charging Somerset with having traitorously designed to seize on the king's person, and assume the entire government of the realm,—with having, along with a hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the Earl of Warwick,—and with having conspired to raise an insurrection in the city of London, was found by the grand jury at Guildhall; on which twenty-seven peers were summoned to sit as a court for his trial in Westminster Hall,—the Marquess of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, being appointed Lord High Steward. The trial took place on the 1st of December. Except only that an opportunity was given to the prisoner of making a public defence, it was scarcely characterized by any greater justice or fairness than had been meted out by the duke to his own brother. His judges were the very parties against whom he was said to have conspired—Northumberland, Northampton, Pembroke, and the other leading members of the government; and the witnesses against him were not produced, but only their written depositions read. Somerset denied all the material facts with which he was charged. As for killing the Duke of Northumberland and the others, however, he admitted that he had thought of such a project and talked of it, but on consideration he had determined to abandon it: "yet," adds the notice in the king's

* King's Journal.

Journal, "he seemed to confess he went about their death." In truth, this black charge, which would now excite so much horror, inasmuch as it did not amount to treason, was probably regarded both by the prisoner and his judges as the lightest in the indictment. It was upon this, however, that he was condemned. The subservient court, indeed, would have voted the conspiracy to imprison or take away the life of their master Northumberland to be treason; but that nobleman himself had the grace to decline this compliment, and so Somerset was only found guilty of felony. On this verdict being pronounced he thanked the lords for the open trial that had been allowed him, "and cried mercy of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, for his ill-meaning against them, and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and debts."* As soon as he was pronounced guiltless of treason the axe was withdrawn, and he was carried back to the Tower unaccompanied by that ghastly emblem. His nephew appears to have been perfectly convinced of his guilt, and in that feeling to have dutifully given himself no further concern about him. Grafton, indeed, says that "he seemed to take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavily;" but his public demeanour, at least, gave no signs of anything of the kind. While his uncle lay condemned to death he was enjoying the merry festivities and pastimes of Christmas with, to all appearance, not less relish than usual. The court having repaired to Greenwich, where open house was kept, there was, by order of the council, "a wise gentleman and learned," named George Ferrers, appointed for this year to be Lord of Misrule, "whose office," says the chronicler, "is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noblemen's houses and among great housekeepers, which use liberal feasting in that season." They did not even keep the sound of their revelry out of the hearing of Somerset in his dungeon.

Other shows and sports of the season are recorded with

* King's Journal.

great unction by the king himself in his Journal. Thus, on the 6th of January, after a tournay in the morning, we have at night, first, a play, in which, "after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other Youth, whether of them was better," and "some pretty reasoning," six champions on each side "fought two to two at barriers in the hall;" and "then came in two apparelled like Almains, the Earl of Ormond and Jaques Granado, and two came in like friars, but the Almains would not suffer them to pass till they had fought: the friars were Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this followed two masques—one of men, another of women. Then a banquet of one hundred and twenty dishes." In the hurry of all this masking and feasting Edward had neither time nor inclination to think of his uncle, or to heed his endeavours to move him to mercy. So, as the chronicler puts it, "this Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, it was thought now good to proceed to the execution of the judgment given against the Duke of Somerset." The execution took place on Friday, the 22nd, under which date his nephew has coolly noted that "the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." The duke met his death with great composure. As he was repeating the name of Jesus for the third time, the axe fell, and instantly deprived him of life.* Many persons, to preserve a memorial of him, dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood.

Whatever may be thought of many of Somerset's actions, and of his general character, his guilt in respect of the charges for which he suffered death must be held to be extremely doubtful, and it is not doubtful at all that he was condemned without a fair trial, and that he was really sacrificed to the ambition of a worse man than himself. Of the persons apprehended as the accomplices of the duke, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel, were also tried, convicted, and executed together on the 26th

* Fox, from the account of a nobleman, who was present.

of February. They all with their last breath protested their innocence of any design either against the king, or against the lives of any of the council. Vane said, that as often as Northumberland laid his head on his pillow he would find it wet with their blood.

Parliament re-assembled on the 23rd of January, 1552, the day after the execution of Somerset. Acts were passed for enforcing throughout the realm the use of the Book of Common Prayer, as amended the preceding year by a committee of bishops and divines, and already sanctioned by the convocation; for amending the law of treason, in which the important principle was introduced, that no person should be attainted under the act unless upon the evidence of two witnesses given in the presence of the accused; for maintaining the observance of the fast-days and holidays marked in the calendar; for the relief of the poor, in which the churchwardens were empowered to collect contributions for that purpose, and the bishop was directed to proceed against such parishioners as refused to contribute; for legalising the marriages of priests and legitimatising their children; besides a few others relating chiefly to subjects of trade and manufactures. Some of the questions that arose occasioned a good deal of debate, and the divisions that took place in the Commons showed that the exising government could scarcely count upon the attachment or support of a majority of the members in that house. Finding them thus impracticable, Northumberland, before they had yet sat for three months, or even granted the usual supplies, not only terminated the session, but dissolved the parliament, which had now been in existence for nearly five years. This done, "it was resolved," says Burnet, "to spend the summer in making friends all over England, and to have a new parliament in the opening of next year."

On the 18th of January, 1553, accordingly, the usual warrant was sent to the lord chancellor, directing him to summon a parliament for the 1st of March following; and then the most direct means were taken to procure a House of Commons composed, to as great an extent as possible, of the friends of the government. In several

cases particular persons holding offices at the court or in the government were expressly recommended to the sheriffs in letters from the king.* When the parliament met the first bill that was brought forward was one for granting supplies. Notwithstanding the preponderance of the government party in the house, it was not passed in the Commons without long and eager debate, principally occasioned, it is supposed, by the preamble, which attributed all the king's financial difficulties to the administration of the Duke of Somerset. The only other act of the session requiring to be here noticed was one suppressing the bishopric of Durham, and creating in its stead two new dioceses, one comprehending the county of Durham, the other that of Northumberland. Since the failure of his attempt in the last session of parliament to effect the deprivation of Bishop Tunstall by a bill of pains and penalties, Northumberland had accomplished that object by bringing the bishop before a new court erected for the special purpose—as open and daring an act of arbitrary power as if he had deprived him without any trial at all. The object of the deprivation of the bishop and the suppression of the see was soon made manifest. Parliament was prorogued on the last day of March, and in the course of the following month the suppressed bishopric was erected into a county palatine, which was united to the crown for the present, but was intended to be ultimately devolved, with all its regal privileges, on the Duke of Northumberland.

Meanwhile, however, a new prospect opened upon the duke's ambition. For some time past the health of the young king had been in a very infirm state, and of late it had been visibly and rapidly declining. In the spring of the last year he had been attacked first by the measles and then by the small-pox, and it is probable that, with a constitution naturally delicate, which he is supposed to have derived from his mother, he never altogether shook off the effects of that protracted illness. In the beginning of the present year he was seized with a violent

* Strype, iii. 237.

cough, which no medicines would relieve; it was no doubt the consequence of disease formed in the lungs, but the suspicious credulity of the times attributed it to some slow poison that had been given to him. He was so ill when the parliament met in the beginning of March, that he could not go down to Westminster, and the two houses were assembled the first day at Whitehall. In the beginning of May he seemed rather better; but this show of amendment soon disappeared—and by the following month it became evident that he could not live many weeks. Throughout his illness, Northumberland had sedulously laboured to win his affection and confidence by a constant attendance and every manifestation of solicitude:—he had at the same time not neglected some other necessary preparations for the project he had in hand. In the beginning of May were celebrated with great magnificence at the duke's new residence of Durham House in the Strand, the marriages of his fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley to the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk—of his daughter the Lady Catherine Dudley, to the Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon,—and of the Lady Catherine Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's second daughter, to the Lord Herbert, the son of the Earl of Pembroke. Two of these alliances might seem to be intended merely to aid generally in extending or strengthening his family connexions and binding together the fabric of his power; but the third had a higher aim. Frances, duchess of Suffolk, the mother of the Lady Jane Grey, whose hand was received by his son, was the eldest of the two daughters and only surviving children of the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII., who had first been married to Louis XII. of France, and then to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, by whom she had her two daughters. After Edward, in the succession to the throne, there stood between Lady Jane, or her mother, by this descent, only the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom, by their father's command, had been bastardized by acts of parliaments, and the descendants of Mary Tudor's eldest sister Margaret, who

married James IV. of Scotland, but who had not been recognised as having any claim in the will of her brother Henry VIII., and whose representative, the present infant queen of Scots, certainly would have little chance of successfully asserting any rights she might be supposed to have to the English throne. Northumberland therefore proposed to bring the crown into his own family by securing it for the head of his new daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane.

Having without difficulty induced the Duchess of Suffolk to transfer her right to her eldest daughter, he proceeded to unfold his plan to the king. Before the anxious mind of the dying boy, over whom he had acquired an extraordinary influence, he placed an alarming representation of the dangers and calamities that were likely to arise from the succession of either of his sisters. Mary, the elder, was a bigoted papist, and would certainly, the moment that she ascended the throne, proceed to undo all that had been done during her brother's reign, in the settlement of the true religion; yet she could not be set aside without urging a plea,—that of her illegitimacy —which would at the same time equally exclude Elizabeth. The only safe course therefore was to pass by both;—and in that case Edward's cousin, the amiable, accomplished, and thoroughly protestant Lady Jane Grey, was obviously the person fittest to be named as his successor. Edward acquiesced in the force of these arguments; and assuming himself to be entitled to exercise the same powers which had been exercised by his father Henry, he determined upon having a new entail of the crown executed to the effect the duke had proposed. Having sketched with his own pen a draft of the instrument, and signed a fair copy of it with his name above and below and on each margin, he sent, on the 11th of June, for Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the puisne justices of the same court, Sir Richard Baker, chancellor of the augmentations, and Gosnold and Gryffyn, the attorney and solicitor-general, to attend the council at Greenwich. When they came to him the next day, he

received them in the presence of several of the counsellors, shortly stated to them what he had made up his mind upon doing, and the reasons that had weighed with him, and desired them to draw up the instrument in the proper legal form. They objected that the act of parliament which settled the succession could not be taken away in the manner proposed; but the king persisted in the command he had given. On the 14th they returned and intimated that, upon looking into the statutes, they had found that to draw such an instrument as was proposed, would subject them to the pains of treason. Upon this, Northumberland came rushing into the room in the greatest fury, called Montague a traitor, and threatened him and the rest, "so that they thought he would have beaten them." * He said he was ready to fight any man in his shirt, in so just a quarrel. In the end they were commanded to retire for the present; but the next day they were again sent for—and first Montague and then the others suffered themselves to be partly persuaded, partly brow-beaten, into consenting to draw the will, the king declaring that it was his intention to have it ratified in the parliament which was summoned to meet in September, and agreeing to give them under the great seal both a commission to perform the act, and a pardon for having performed it. The instrument accordingly was duly prepared, and, having been engrossed on parchment and carried to the Chancery, had the great seal affixed to it. After this, on the 21st, it received the signatures of all the lords of the council, of most of the judges, and of the attorney and solicitor-general. Twenty-four members of the council, with Archbishop Cranmer at their head, had also before this, on the command of Northumberland, signed another paper pledging their oaths and honour to "observe every article contained in his majesty's own device respecting the succession, subscribed with his majesty's hand in six several places, and delivered to certain judges and other learned men that it might be written in full order;" to defend it to the uttermost; and if any

* Burnet.

man should ever attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the kingdom, and to punish him as he deserved.

Edward survived the completion of this transaction only a few days. It is said that when his physicians declared they had no hope of his recovery, he was intrusted to the care of a woman who offered to undertake his cure. Under the woman's treatment he grew worse every day, and the physicians were soon recalled; but he still continued to sink; and on the evening of the 6th of July, while engaged in prayer, he breathed his last, having lived fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days, and entered upon the sixth month of the seventh year of his reign.

MARY.

A.D. 1553.—THE talent and decision of the Earl of Northumberland were far from being equal to his ambition. Although that event must have been expected for months, the death of Edward seems to have taken him by surprise, or at least in a very unprepared state. In order to gain a little time, he determined to conceal the king's death,—a common enough practice in despotic governments, and one which, as we have seen, had also been adopted on the demise of Henry VIII. He had even neglected the important measure of getting possession of the persons of the two princesses. The Lady Mary, it appears, had been summoned to attend her half-brother Edward on his death-bed; but having long been acquainted with Northumberland's secret practices, she showed no anxiety for this journey to London, where her enemies were in their full strength. The summons was now repeated as if Edward, though in extremity, were still alive; and Mary at last moved reluctantly from Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. But the Earl of Arundel* despatched messengers to inform her that her brother was dead, and that Northumberland, who was plotting to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, only wanted to make her a prisoner. On receiving this intelligence, Mary, who had advanced within half a day's journey of the capital, changed her route, and went to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk, seated near the sea, whence, if fortune

* According to another account, the timely warning was first given by Mary's goldsmith, despatched from London by Nicholas Throckmorton, who, though a Protestant, had a great veneration for legitimacy. In many breasts the latter feeling was strong enough to overcome the religious objection. A little later Throckmorton had a narrow escape from the block.

frowned, she might easily embark and flee to the Flemish dominions of her relative the Emperor Charles. The Lady Elizabeth was in Hertfordshire: she had been summoned to court in the like manner as her half-sister Mary, and was also warned of the real state of affairs by some personal friend, who is generally supposed to have been Sir William Cecil. She therefore remained where she was.*

Northumberland, having two days together consulted with his friends and dependants as to the best way of managing this great affair,—the king's death being still kept secret,—commanded the attendance, at Greenwich (where the dead body was lying), of the Lord Mayor of London, six aldermen, and twelve other citizens "of chiefest account." On the 8th of July the mayor, the aldermen, and the citizens, went down to Greenwich, where Northumberland and some of the council secretly declared to them the death of the king, as also how, by his last will, and by his letters patent, he had appointed and ordained that the Lady Jane should be his successor in the throne and sovereignty. The deputation, being shown the royal will, swore allegiance to Lady Jane, and were bound under a great penalty not to divulge these "secret passages" until they should receive orders from the council. Two days after this, on the 10th of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Lady Jane Grey was conveyed by water to the Tower of London, and there publicly received as queen; for Northumberland was by this time informed not only of the flight of Mary, but of her being so well aware of all that was passing that she was summoning the nobility to her standard. In the course of the evening after Lady Jane's safe arrival at the Tower, the death of King Edward was publicly divulged for the first time, and Jane was proclaimed queen in the city, with somewhat less than the usual formality. The people of London were cold and silent, many of them whispering the name of Queen Mary, and

* Stow.—Holinshed.—Godwin.—Strype.—Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth.

very few of them entering into the spirit of this revolution in the order of succession. The amiable victim of the ambition of others had never entertained any sanguine hopes, and had resisted the project to the utmost. "So far was she from any desire of this advancement, she began to act her part of royalty with many tears, thus plainly showing to those who had access to her that she was forced by her relations and friends to this high but dangerous post."* She was in the bloom of her youth, graceful and pretty if not beautiful,—most amiable and unaffected,—quiet, modest, attached to her young husband and her domestic duty,—fond of retirement and of elegant literature, and so accomplished that she read Plato in the original Greek.†

In the mean while Mary's friends had exerted themselves in Suffolk, in Norfolk, and in Cambridgeshire, where the people detested Northumberland on account of his severity in suppressing the recent rebellion in those parts. There was indeed a very strong party among them that inclined to the Reformation; but when Mary solemnly pledged herself to make no change in the religion or laws of Edward, even these men embraced her cause—the cause of legitimacy—with zeal and affection. It was a struggle between the love of hereditary right and the attachment to the new order of things in the church, and the former feeling prevailed. The council and a great number of the nobility had gone to the Tower with Lady Jane, where Northumberland, in a manner, kept them prisoners; but other men of high rank who were in the provinces had hastened to join Mary as soon as they learned where she was. Forces, raised to serve the Lady Jane or Northumberland, went over in a mass; and even a small fleet which was sent down the coast to intercept her in case she should attempt to quit England, declared against the usurpation, and hoisted her flag. On the 12th of July Mary sent an order to Norwich for her proclamation in that important city. The municipal authorities hesitated, being *not yet* certain of the king's

* Godwin. † Roger Ascham.

death; but the next day they not only proclaimed her but also sent her men and ammunition. She had already written to the members of the council to claim the throne, which she said belonged to her by right of birth, by the decision of parliament, and by the will of her father. The council, who were at the mercy of Northumberland, replied that her claims were opposed by the invalidity of her mother's marriage, by custom, by the last will of King Edward, and by the general voice of the people! They had scarcely despatched this answer from the Tower when they learned that Mary had moved to Kenning-hall in Norfolk, and had been there joined by the Earls of Bath and Sussex, Sir Thomas Wharton, son to the Lord Wharton, Sir John Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir John Shelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and many other gentlemen of rank and influence. Northumberland now found himself in a dilemma: he dreaded the cabals of the counsellors and courtiers if he left them behind, and he knew not whom to trust with the command of the army if he did not go himself with it. At last he thought of placing the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, at the head of the forces, which were to fall upon Mary before she should gain more strength, and, if possible, get possession of her person and bring her to the Tower. But Suffolk had no great military reputation, and Northumberland was more than half afraid of trusting him alone, while the council, for their own safety, were bent upon making the chief plotter go himself. Their manœuvre was facilitated by the filial tenderness of Lady Jane, who, "taking the matter heavily," with sighs and tears requested that her dear father might tarry at home in her company. "Whereupon the council persuaded with the Duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon himself, saying, that no man was so fit therefore, because that he had achieved the victory in Norfolk once already, and was so feared there that none durst lift up their weapons against him; besides that he was the best man of war in the realm, as well for the ordering of his camps and soldiers, both in battle and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge, and wisdom he could

animate his army with witty persuasions, and also pacify and allay his enemies' pride with his stout courage, or else dissuade them, if need were, from their enterprise. Finally, said they, this is the short and long, the queen will in nowise grant that her father shall take it upon him." "Well," quoth the duke, "since ye think it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelity to the queen's majesty, which I leave in your custody."* On the morrow, early in the morning, the duke called for his own harness, and saw it made ready at Durham Place, where he appointed all his retinue to meet. In the course of the day carts were laden with ammunition, and artillery and field-pieces were sent forward. When all was ready, Northumberland made a tender appeal to the feelings of the council who were to be left behind, telling them that he and the noble personages about to march with him would freely adventure their bodies and lives in the good cause, and reminding them that they left their children and families at home committed to their truth and fidelity. He also reminded them of their recent oaths of allegiance to the queen's highness, the virtuous Lady Jane, "who," said he, "by *your* and *our* enticement, is rather of force placed on the throne than by her own seeking and request;" and in the end he bade them consider that the cause of God, the promotion of the gospel, and the fear of the papists, the original grounds upon which they had given their good will and consent to the proclaiming of Queen Jane, bound them to the cause for which he was preparing to fight.† Though nearly every man present had made up his mind to declare for Queen Mary as soon as his back should be turned, they all promised and vowed to support the good cause, and Northumberland departed. But as he marched with his small army of six thousand men through the city his spirits were damped by the manner and countenance of the people, who ran to gaze at his passage, and he could not help bidding his officers observe that of that great multitude not so much as one man had wished them

* Stow. † Ibid.

success, or bade them "God speed." On the Sunday after his departure, Ridley, bishop of London, whose whole soul was in the revolution as the only likely means to prevent the return of papistry, preached at Paul's Cross, most eloquently showing the people the right and title of the Lady Jane, and inveighing earnestly not only against the Lady Mary but also against the Lady Elizabeth, of whose religion, it is quite clear, that doubts were entertained. The Londoners listened in silence. On that same Sunday, the 16th of July, the Lord Treasurer stole out of the Tower to his house in the city, evidently to make arrangements for the council going over in a body to Mary. He returned in the night, and two days after Cecil, Cranmer, and the rest of the counsellors persuaded the imbecile Duke of Suffolk that it was very necessary to levy fresh forces and to place them in better hands,—that is, in their own; and that, to be of full use in support of his daughter Queen Jane, *they*, her trusty and loyal council, must be permitted to leave the Tower, and hold their sittings at Baynard's Castle, then the residence of the Earl of Pembroke. The council were no sooner arrived at that house than they declared, with one voice, for Queen Mary, and instantly despatched the Earl of Arundel, Sir William Paget, and Sir William Cecil, to notify their submission and exceeding great loyalty. In the course of the same day the council summoned the lord mayor and the aldermen to Baynard's Castle, and told them that they must ride with them "into Cheap" to proclaim a new queen; and forthwith they all rode together to that street, where Master Garter, king-at-arms, in his rich coat, stood with a trumpet, and the trumpet being sounded, they proclaimed the Lady Mary, daughter to King Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine, to be Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church! "And to add more majesty to their act by some devout solemnity, they went in procession to Paul's, singing that admirable hymn of those holy fathers St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, commonly known by its first words '*Te Deum*.'" The people seemed to triumph

greatly in this triumph of hereditary right; and all were joyful except a few who were zealously attached to the new religion, and well acquainted with the fierce intolerance of Mary. The council then detached some companies to besiege the Tower; but the timid Duke of Suffolk opened the gates to them as soon as they appeared, and entering his daughter's chamber, told her that she must be content to be unqueened and return to a private station. It is said that the Lady Jane expressed joy rather than sorrow, and hoped that her willing relinquishment of the honours that had been forced upon her, and her ingenuous conduct, would palliate the error she had committed. While she returned to prayer in an inner room, her father posted off to Baynard's Castle, where he joined the rest of the council, and subscribed the decrees they were issuing in the name of Queen Mary! In the mean time the Duke of Northumberland, who had marched as far as Bury, perceiving that the succours promised him did not come to hand, and receiving letters of discomfort from some of the council, had fallen back upon Cambridge, where, it should seem, he learnt the defection of the fleet, and of the land troops that had been raised in the counties. He reached Cambridge on the 18th of July, the day before the proclamation of Mary in London; and on the 20th of July, the day after that event, of which it appears he was well informed, he, with such of the nobility as were in his company, went to the market-cross of the town of Cambridge, and, calling for a herald, proclaimed Queen Mary, and was himself the first man there to throw up his cap and cry, "God save her!" He had scarcely played this part, in the hope of saving his neck, when he received at the hands of Richard Rose, herald, a sharp letter from the council in London, commanding him to disband his army and return to his allegiance to the blessed Queen Mary, under penalty of being accepted and treated as a traitor. This letter was signed, among others, by Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, by Cranmer, and by Cecil. The order, as to the army, was scarcely needed, for most of the men had

disbanded of their own accord, and almost all the lords and officers who had hitherto followed him had passed over to Mary, and made their peace by accusing Northumberland as the sole author and cause of their taking up arms against their lawful queen. On the following day, while the duke was still loitering at Cambridge, not knowing whether to flee for his life or to trust to Mary's mercy, and the encouraging circumstance that some of the council, *in reality*, and all, *in appearance*, had shared in his treason, he was arrested by the Earl of Arundel, who hated him to death, though a little before he had professed a wish to spend his heart's blood in his service. The duke, who was utterly devoid of greatness of mind, fell on his knees before the earl, and abjectly begged for life; but Arundel, who rejoiced in his ruin and abasement, carried him off to London and lodged him in the Tower, even as Queen Mary had commanded. The Lady Jane, having, "as on a stage, for ten days only personated a queen," was already in safe custody within those dismal walls; and the Earl of Warwick, Lord Ambrose, and Lord Henry Dudley, the three sons of the Duke of Northumberland, Sir A. Dudley, the duke's brother, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates, his brother Sir Henry Gates, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who had impugned Queen Mary's rights from the pulpit, were very soon lodged in the same fortress; and two days after these committals Sir Roger Cholmley, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, Sir Edmund Montague, Chief justice of the Common Pleas, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cheke, were added to the list of state prisoners: but on the 31st of July the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, was discharged out of the Tower by the Earl of Arundel, *and soon after obtained the queen's pardon*. On the 30th day of this same busy month the Lady Elizabeth rode from her palace in the Strand (where she had arrived the night before) through the city of London, and then out by Aldgate, to meet her sister Mary, accompanied by a thousand horse, of

knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. At this difficult crisis the conduct of Elizabeth, which is supposed to have been prescribed by Sir William Cecil—afterwards her own great minister Lord Burghley—was exceeding politic, and at the same time bold. When waited upon in Hertfordshire by messengers from the Duke of Northumberland, who apprised her of the accession of the Lady Jane, and proposed that she, Elizabeth, should resign her own title in consideration of certain lands and pensions, she replied that her elder sister Mary was first to be agreed with, and that, during her lifetime, she could claim no right to the throne. She determined to make common cause with her sister against those who were bent on excluding them both; she called around her a number of friends to prevent her seizure; she waited the course of events; and, at the right moment, hurried to the capital, whence, as we have seen, she set out, well attended, to welcome Mary and give strength to her party.*

The queen travelled by slow journeys from Norfolk to Wanstead, in Essex, where she arrived on the 1st of August, and was congratulated on her happy success by Elizabeth. The greater part of her army, which had never exceeded thirteen thousand men, and which had never drawn a sword, was disbanded; and on the 3rd of August, attended by a vast concourse of the nobility, Mary made her triumphant entrance through London to the Tower, where the old Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son to the Marquess of Exeter, beheaded in the year 1538, Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, and Anne, dowager-duchess of Somerset, presented themselves on their knees—Bishop Gardiner, in the name of them all, delivering a congratulatory oration, and blessing the Lord, on their own account, for her happy accession. It was, indeed, a time of triumph for all of the Catholic party! The queen courteously raised them, kissed each of them, saying, "These are all my own prisoners," and gave orders for their immediate dis-

* Heylin.—Holinshed.—Speed.—Godwin.

charge from the Tower. A day or two after, Bonner, late bishop of London, and Tunstall, the old bishop of Durham, were released from the harsh imprisonment to which they had been committed by the Protestant party, and immediate measures were adopted for restoring them and several of their friends—all zealous Papists—to their respective sees.*

On the 18th of August, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, his eldest son, John, earl of Warwick, and William Parr, marquess of Northampton, were arraigned at Westminster Hall, where Thomas, duke of Norfolk, high steward of England, the recently liberated captive—the survivor of his accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey—presided at the trial. The Duke of Northumberland pleaded that he had done nothing but by the authority of the council, and by warrant of the same under the great seal of England; and he asked whether any such persons as were equally culpable with him, and those by whose letters and commandments he had been directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or sit upon his trial as jurors? The latter query did him no good: the members of the council averred that *they* had acted under peril,—that *they* had been coerced by the duke,—and Suffolk, (the father of Lady Jane!) Cranmer, Cecil, and the rest continued to sit in judgment, and with very little loss of time proceeded to pass sentence. The duke hesitated at no meanness to avert his doom; but self-prostration was of no avail. When sentence was passed he craved the favour of such a death as was usually allowed to noblemen: he besought the court to be merciful to his sons, on account of their youth and inexperience; and then, as a last hope of gaining the queen's pardon by apostasy, he requested that he might be permitted to confer with some learned divine for the settling of his conscience, and that her majesty would be graciously pleased to send unto him four of her council, to whom he might discover certain things that nearly concerned

* Stow.—Godwin.—Bonner had been a prisoner in the Marshalsea, Tunstall in the King's Bench.

the safety of her realm. His son, the Earl of Warwick, showed a higher spirit, hearing his sentence with great firmness, and craving no other favour than that his debts might be paid out of his property confiscated to the crown. The Marquess of Northampton pleaded that, from the beginning of these tumults, he had discharged no public office, and that, being all that time intent on hunting and other sports, he had not partaken in the conspiracy; but the court held it to be manifest that he was a party with the duke, and passed sentence on him likewise. On the next day Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were condemned as traitors in the same court.* On Tuesday, the 22nd of August, Sir John Gage, lieutenant of the Tower, delivered to the sheriffs of London the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who were brought forth to Tower-Hill, for execution. When the duke met Sir John Gates he told him that he forgave him with all his heart, although *he and the council* were the great cause of his present condition. Gates replied that he forgave the duke as he would be forgiven, although *he and his high authority* were the original causes of the whole calamity. From the scaffold Northumberland addressed the people in a long and contrite speech, in which he told them that they should all most heartily pray that it might please God to grant her majesty Queen Mary a long reign. After he had spoken to the people, he knelt down, saying to those that were about him, "I beseech you all to bear me witness that I die in the true Catholic faith;" and then he repeated the Psalms of *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, his *Pater Noster*, and six of the first verses of the psalm *In te, Domine, speravi*, ending with, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Then bowing towards the block, he said that he had deserved a thousand deaths, and laying his head over it, his neck was instantly severed.†

* Heylin.—Holinshed.—Stow.—Strype.

† Godwin says that Northumberland spoke and acted thus "by the persuasion of Nicholas Heath, afterwards Bishop of York." But it was usual (as we have shown

They took up his body, with the head, and buried it in the Tower by the body of his victim, the late Duke of Somerset, so that there lay before the high altar in St. Peter's Chapel two headless dukes between two headless queens,—the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland between Queen Anne Boleyn and Queen Catherine Howard, all four beheaded and interred in the Tower.* The head of Sir John Gates fell immediately after that of Northumberland. Gates also made a long penitential speech on the scaffold, telling the people that he had lived as viciously and wickedly all the days of his life as any man.†

On the day after these executions Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was made chancellor; and, on the Sunday following, the old Catholic service was sung in Latin in St. Paul's Church. It was fully expected that the active Gardiner would proceed at once to extremities against the Protestant party; but for a short time there was an awful pause. The Emperor Charles, whom she consulted on all affairs of importance, strongly advised the queen to proceed in everything with the utmost caution,—to wait the effect of time and example on the religious faith of her people,—to punish only her principal enemies, and to quiet the apprehensions of the rest, who might be driven to desperation by over severity.‡ Mary replied, "God, who has protected me in all my misfortunes, is my trust. I will not show him my gratitude tardily and in secret, but immediately and openly."§ She was fain, however, to issue a public declaration that she would constrain nobody in religious matters, but must only insist that her people should refrain from the offensive expressions of "papist" and "heretic." But the spirit of the zealot was not to be wholly repressed by any considerations of political expediency. It was only nine days after the issuing of the proclamation that she had caused mass to be sung in the first church in the city of

repeatedly) to die in strict conformity to the will of the court.

* Stow. † Holinshed.—Stow.

‡ Ambassades de Renaud, quoted by Raumer. § Ibid.

London; and she proceeded to establish a most rigorous censorship of the press, and to prohibit all persons from speaking against herself or her council, *because all that they did, or might do, was for the honour of God and the welfare of her subjects' immortal souls.* There can be no doubt that Mary was sincere in her convictions: she was an honest fanatic, but her fanaticism was only the more dangerous from her honesty, and the persuasion which she held in common with other zealots, that all her plans were for the service of the Almighty. Even the darkest and fiercest passions were in her case masked by religion, and by filial piety; and it appeared to her a sacred duty to avenge on the reforming party the wrongs and sufferings of her mother Catherine. Mary's youth had been passed in gloom and in storms; her father had alternately threatened to make her a nun and to take off her head; he and his ministers had forced her to sign a paper in which she formally acknowledged that the church she adored was a cheat, and that the mother who bore her had never been her father's lawful wife. From the time of the marriage of Anne Boleyn she had been persecuted, insulted, and driven from place to place, almost like a common criminal and vagabond. A woman of an angelic temper—a temper always rare and in those days nearly unknown,—might, by miraculous exertion, have forgiven all these wrongs; a *young* woman, with a sound constitution, and its concomitant, a light and cheerful spirit, might have forgotten them gradually in the full sunshine of prosperity; but Mary was thirty-seven years old, an age at which it is difficult to erase any deep impressions; and partly through the effects of long years of grief and fear, and partly through the defects of her original formation, her constitution was shattered, and the ill humour and moroseness of the confirmed valetudinarian were superadded to the other fertile causes which were to make her a curse to the nation.

This unhappy woman, with an insane mind in an unsound body, had all along considered Cranmer as the greatest enemy of her mother, whose divorce he had pro-

nounced. After being left at large from the day of her entrance into London to the 14th or 15th of September, the archbishop was suddenly arrested and committed to the Tower, with Latimer and some others. There is an immediate cause assigned by some writers for his arrest at this moment. Men remembered Cranmer's conduct, in the days of King Henry, when he sat at the head of tribunals which sentenced Protestants to the flames; he was generally believed to be deficient in that extreme courage which braves torture and death; and it was reported of him, that, in order to pay court to this most Catholic queen, he had engaged to restore the rites of the old church, and to officiate personally in them. He had certainly never shown such courage before, and he could not be blind to the great risk he was running; but, being assisted by the learned Peter Martyr, he wrote and published (it is said) a manifesto of his entire Protestant faith, and his abhorrence of masses and all other abominations of the Popish superstition.* A few days after his arrest Queen Mary went to the Tower by water, accompanied by the Princess Elizabeth and other ladies. This was preparatory to the coronation. On the last day of September the queen rode in great state from the Tower through the city of London, towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot covered with cloth of gold. Before her rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the council: after whom followed the Knights of the Bath in their robes; the Bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor; the Marquess of Winchester, lord high treasurer; the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford bearing the sword of state; and the Lord Mayor of London bearing the sceptre of gold. After the queen's chariot Sir Edward Hastings led her horse in hand;

* It is certainly by no means clear that Cranmer ever *published* such a bold manifesto. Some accounts seem to say that certain declarations of his were *treacherously* put into the queen's hands. But Mary wanted no additional provocation to hunt him to infamy and death.

and after her horse came another chariot covered all over with white silver cloth, wherein sat side by side, with smiling faces, the Princess Elizabeth and our old fair-complexioned and contented friend THE LADY ANNE OF CLEVES! On the morrow the queen went by water from Whitehall to the old palace of Westminster, and there remained till about noon, and then walked on foot upon blue cloth, being railed on each side, unto St. Peter's Church, where she was solemnly crowned and anointed by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who took good care not to omit any of the ancient rites.*

Five days after the coronation a parliament assembled at Westminster, and both Lords and Commons soon gave melancholy proofs that they had made up their minds to float with the prevailing current, and to make no efforts for the protection of anything except the estates of the church that had fallen into their own hands. As there was scarcely a member in the upper house but had shared in the spoil in the time of Henry and Edward, and as it was known that their only anxiety was for the preservation of what they had gotten, no apprehension was entertained of any serious opposition on the part of the peers; and, as for the commons, they had long been timid and subservient in the extreme, and on the present occasion, out of a prudent regard to their personal safety, those who were not Papists had contrived to keep away from parliament. The very first act of the new parliament was decisive: proceedings were opened in each of the Houses by celebrating high mass; and the men who, a few years before, had voted the observance to be damnable, all fell on their knees at the elevation of the Host. Only Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel; for which he was harshly treated, and kicked or thrust out of the House of Lords. The first bill that was passed,

* At this coronation the Princess Elizabeth carried the crown. It is said that she whispered to the French ambassador, Noailles, that it was very heavy; and that he replied, "Be patient; it will seem lighter when it is on your own head."

in imitation of what was done by the Protestant party at the accession of the late king, abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony not set down in the statute-book previously to the first year of Henry VIII. They next declared the queen to be legitimate, and annulled the divorce of her mother pronounced by Cranmer, greatly blaming the archbishop for that deed. Then, by one vote, they repealed all the statutes of the late reign that in any way regarded religion, thus returning to the point at which matters stood in the last year of the reign of Henry VIII., when most of the offices and ceremonies of the Roman Church, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, and other matters odious to Protestants, were fully insisted upon. The queen neither renounced the title of supreme head of the church—a title most odious, frightful, or ridiculous to Catholic ears—nor pressed for a restitution of the abbey lands; though, to give proof of her own disinterestedness, she prepared to restore of her own free will all property of that kind which had been attached to the crown. It was quite certain that the lords, who were so compliant in matters of doctrine and faith, that concerned their souls, would have offered a vigorous resistance to any bill that touched their estates or their goods and chattels; and Mary had been well warned on this point.* Gardiner, who had already dismissed all such of the Protestant bishops as would not conform or enter into a compromise, now summoned the convocation, to settle once more all doubts and disputations concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. With the exception of a few words spoken by John Ailmer, Richard Cheney, John Philpot, James Hadden, and Walter Phillips, the Papists had it all their own way. Harpsfield, the Bishop of London's chaplain, who opened the convocation with a sermon, set no limits to his exultation; and, in the vehemence of his joy and gratitude, he compared Queen Mary to all the females of greatest celebrity in Holy Writ and the

* Parl. Jour.—Despatches of Noailles.—Burnet.

Apocrypha, not even excepting the Virgin Mary. It would scarcely be expected by people of ordinary imagination that it was possible for any one to surpass the hyperbole of Harpsfield; and yet this feat seems fairly to have been performed by Weston, the prolocutor.

After these orations the convocation proceeded to business, and in some matters came to important decisions without waiting for the authority either of the queen or the parliament, being sure of the one and entertaining a well-merited contempt for the other. They declared the Book of Common Prayer to be an abomination; they called for the immediate suppression of the reformed English Catechism; they recommended the most violent measures against all such of the clergy as would not forthwith dismiss their wives, and adopt the Catholic opinion as to the real presence. In London and the great cities, where the Protestant doctrine had taken deeper root, the change, though rapid, was somewhat less sudden; but in the rural districts generally, where the population had never been properly converted, the mass re-appeared at once, and every part of the reformed service was thrown aside even before any express orders to that effect from court or from convocation. Hosts of priests, and particularly the relics of the abbeys and monasteries, who had conformed to save their lives or to obtain the means of supporting themselves, declared that they had acted under compulsion, and joyfully returned to their Latin masses, their confessions, their holy waters, and the rest. Many, again, who really preferred the reformed religion, were fain to conform to what they disapproved of, just as their opponents had done in the preceding reign, and from the same worldly motives. But still there were many married priests who would on no account part with their wives, or receive, as the rules of salvation, tenets which, for years, they had condemned as the inventions of the devil. Some, also, there were who had made to themselves, by their intolerance in the days of their prosperity, bitter enemies among those who were now in the ascendant. The prisons began to fill with Protestant clergymen of these classes; and others

of them, being deprived of their livings, were thrown upon the highways to beg or starve as the monks had been in the days of Henry VIII., their condition being so much the worse as they had wives and children.

About half of the English bishops, bending to the storm, conformed, in all outward appearances, with the triumphant sect.* Those who did not, or who were peculiarly obnoxious to the dominant party, were deprived of their sees and whatever they possessed, and cast into prison. We have already seen Cranmer and Latimer sent to the Tower. Shortly after Holgate, archbishop of York, was committed to the same state prison for marriage; and Ridley, bishop of London, for preaching at Paul's Cross in defence of Queen Jane's title, and for "heretical pravity;" Poynet, who had held the bishopric of Winchester during Gardiner's deprivation and imprisonment, was also committed to prison for being married. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, who had refused to kneel at the elevation of the Host in the House of Lords, was deprived "for thinking amiss concerning the eucharist;" Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, for having a wife, and other demerits; Harley, bishop of Hereford, for wedlock and heresy; Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, for the same offences; Bird, bishop of Chester, for marriage. Coverdale of Exeter, the translator of the Bible, was also ejected and thrown into prison, where he lay two years, not without danger of being burnt. Barlow of Bath and Wells, and Bush of Bristol, voluntarily resigned their sees.†

On the 13th of November Cranmer was brought to trial for high treason, together with the Lady Jane Grey, her youthful husband Lord Guildford Dudley, and his brother Lord Ambrose Dudley. They were all condemned to suffer death as traitors by the very men

* In this number were some who were really Catholics all along, and who had strained their consciences by conformity in the last reigns. Insincere *then*, they were sincere *now*.

† Strype.—Collier.—Soames, Hist. Reform.—Blunt.

who a short time before had acted with them, and had sworn allegiance to Jane; but the youth of three of these victims to the ambition and imbecility of others excited a lively sympathy in the nation, and the queen sent them back to the Tower, apparently with no intention of ever bringing them to the block. Even the fourth victim, Cranmer, was respited, and was pardoned of his treason; but he was sent back to the Tower on the equally perilous charge of heresy. He was strongly advised by his friends, both before his apprehension and also now, to attempt to escape out of the kingdom, but he is said to have replied, that his trust was in God, and in his holy word, and that he had resolved to show a constancy worthy of a Christian prelate. He repeatedly professed to have a great desire to be admitted to a private audience of the queen; but Mary had no inclination to receive the man who had sealed her mother's dishonour, and the party about her seconded this strong and natural feeling of aversion.

Before parliament was dissolved the attainder of the old Duke of Norfolk was legally reversed, it being declared—with some reason—that no special matter had been proved either against him or his son the Earl of Surrey, except the wearing of part of a coat-of-arms. On the 21st of December, a few days after the dissolution of parliament, the church service began to be performed in Latin throughout England. At the same time the Lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower granted her, being allowed to walk in the queen's garden and on the hill; the Lord Guildford Dudley and his brother were treated more leniently than they had been; and the Marquess of Northampton was set at liberty altogether. This moderation was a matter of marvel in those days, nor did the queen fail in making a favourable impression by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the preceding parliament: but other circumstances sufficiently indicated that Mary was determined not only to re-establish the Roman church, but to prevent the teaching and preaching of the reformed doctrine. There was scarcely by this time a pulpit in the kingdom but what was silenced; and

Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Day, Heath, Vesey, and others of the now restored Catholic bishops, were not likely to permit them to be eloquent again. The men of Suffolk, whose loyalty had placed her on the throne, ventured to recal to her mind her solemn promises given to them on that occasion, that she would not change the reformed religion as established under her brother. One of these remonstrants, who was bolder than the rest, was set in the pillory; the others were browbeaten and insulted. Judge Hales, who had defended the queen's title with a most rare courage, was arbitrarily arrested and thrown into a noisome prison as soon as he showed an opposition to these illegal, rash, and dangerous proceedings. The upright judge was treated with such severity that his body and mind became alike disordered; —he fell into a frenzy and attempted suicide by cutting his throat. He was at length liberated; but it was too late,—insanity had taken a firm hold of him, and he terminated his life by drowning himself.*

Mary, who had been affianced in her infancy to the Emperor Charles, to the French king, to the Dauphin, and who in the course of the last two reigns had been disappointed of several other husbands, now determined to marry, in order, it appears, to make sure of a Catholic succession. It should seem, however, that she was not wholly devoid of the tender passion, for it is said, on good authority, that she conceived an affection for the son of the Marquess of Exeter,—murdered in her father's days,—the handsome and accomplished young Edward Courtenay, whom she had liberated from the Tower on her first coming to London.† Upon this kinsman, whose flourishing youth and courteous and pleasant disposition

* Strype.—Stow.—Holinshed.—Godwin.—Nares, Life of Lord Burghley.

† From the age of fourteen to that of twenty-six this victim of tyranny had been doomed to expiate, in a captivity which threatened to be perpetual, the involuntary offence of inheriting, through an attainted father, the blood of the fourth Edward.—Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.*

delighted the whole court, she lavished many proofs of favour: she hastened to restore to him the title of Earl of Devon, to which she added the whole of those patrimonial estates which his father's attainder had vested in the crown; and when people spoke or whispered of the wisdom and fitness of an English queen marrying a great English nobleman, decended (as she was herself by her grandmother) from the royal House of York, her countenance relaxed instead of increasing its habitual severity. But the accomplished Earl of Devon soon became suspected of indulging in anti-Catholic notions, and, what was almost as bad, he betrayed, as is said, a preference for the queen's half-sister Elizabeth. If there had been little affection between the royal ladies before, this circumstance was not likely to increase it; and a few months after Mary's accession, we find Elizabeth retiring to her house of Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, attended by Sir Thomas Pope and Sir John Gage, who were appointed by the queen to keep a watchful eye over her.

The Emperor Charles, who had been solemnly affianced to her himself nearly thirty years before, was now most anxious to secure the hand of Mary for his son, the proud, the bigoted, the crafty and cruel Philip, who then happened to be a widower. As Mary consulted her mother's nephew in all her difficulties, Charles was enabled to press this suit for his son with good effect. The imperial ambassadors had constant access, by night as well as by day, to the royal but elderly maiden; and one night, within three months after her accession, before any public negotiation had taken place, and without so much as consulting her council, Mary solemnly promised to marry Philip. For some time this engagement was concealed, but when it was whispered abroad it excited almost universal discontent, for the character of Philip, though not yet fully developed in action, was well known; and it was reasonably suspected that the once free kingdom of England would be wholly enslaved and made dependant upon Spain and the emperor. With these views the match was odious even to most of the Catholics,

whose patriotism rose triumphantly above their bigotry. In the face of these feelings it was judged prudent to proceed slowly and with caution. The match, however, was spoken of in parliament, and the commons even petitioned against it,—a circumstance which is supposed to have hurried on the dissolution.

A.D. 1554.—Early in January a splendid embassy arrived from Spain, and, on the 14th of the same month, Bishop Gardiner, as chancellor, in the presence chamber, made to the lords, nobility, and court gentry an "oration very eloquent," setting forth that the queen's majesty, partly for old amity, and other weighty considerations, had, after much suit on the Emperor's and Prince of Spain's behalf, determined, with the consent of the council and nobility, to match herself with the said prince "in most godly and lawful matrimony." After this exordium Gardiner explained the conditions of the treaty, which, to disarm opposition in England, had been made wonderfully mild, moderate, and generous on the part of Philip, who, of course, would reserve to himself the right of altering it thereafter as he should see occasion and find means for so doing. It was agreed that though Philip should have the honour and title of King of England, the government should rest wholly with the queen, he (Philip) aiding her highness in the happy administration of her realms and dominions; that no Spaniard or other foreigner should enjoy any office in the kingdom; that no innovations should be made in the national laws, customs, and privileges; that the queen should never be carried abroad without her free consent, nor any of the children she might have without consent of the nobility (there was no mention made of the commons, nor indeed of the parliament). It was further agreed that Philip, in the unlikely case of Mary's surviving him, should settle upon her a jointure of 60,000*l.* a-year; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and leave no issue, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and

other dominions attached to the Spanish monarchy!* On the next day the Lord Mayor of London, with his brethren the aldermen, and forty citizens of good substance, was summoned to court, where Gardiner repeated his oration, desiring them all to behave themselves like good subjects, with humbleness and rejoicing for so happy an event. On this same day Robert Dudley, one of the sons of the late Duke of Northumberland, was condemned as a traitor, the Earl of Sussex pronouncing sentence that he was to be drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered.†

But if the treaty of marriage had been tenfold more brilliant in promises, it would have failed in satisfying the English people. Within five days the court was startled by intelligence that Sir Peter Carew was up in arms in Devonshire, resolute to resist the Prince of Spain's coming, and that he had taken the city and castle of Exeter. This news was followed, on the 25th, by intelligence that Sir Thomas Wyatt had taken the field with the same determination in Kent; and the mayor and aldermen, who had so recently been commanded to rejoice and make glad, were now told to shut the gates of the city, and keep good watch and ward, lest the rebels should enter. Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet of that name, who has been associated in glory with the Earl of Surrey, was a very loyal knight of Kent, and, apparently, a Papist;‡ but he had conceived a frightful notion of the cruel bigotry and grasping ambition of the Spanish court. Although connected by blood with the Dudleys, he had refused to co-operate with the Duke of Northumbland in the plot for giving the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and had even been forward to proclaim Queen Mary in the town of Maidstone, before knowing that she had been proclaimed elsewhere. Wyatt appears to have been a brave and honest, but rash man; and the majority of those who

* Rymer. † Stow.

‡ He was a commander at Henry VIII.'s siege of Boulogne, and made himself conspicuous by his daring.

had engaged to co-operate with him, from different parts of the kingdom, were either scoundrels without faith or cowards. The highest name of all was both: this was the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, who, to the astonishment of most men, had been liberated from the Tower, and pardoned by Queen Mary. On the 25th of January, the very day on which it was known that Sir Thomas Wyatt had risen in Kent, this duke fled into Warwickshire, where, with his brothers the Lord John Grey and the Lord Leonard Grey, he made proclamation against the queen's marriage, and called the people to arms; "but the people inclined not to him." The plan of the conspirators seems to have been, that Wyatt should endeavour to seize the Tower, where Lady Jane and her husband lay, and get possession of the city of London; that the Duke of Suffolk should raise the midland counties, and Carew the west: but in execution they proceeded with a miserable want of concert and arrangement. On the 29th the old Duke of Norfolk, with the Earl of Arundel, marched from London against Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had advanced to Rochester, and taken the castle. When the royalists reached Rochester-bridge they found it defended with three or four double cannons, and by a numerous force of Kentish men. Norfolk sent forward a herald with a proclamation of pardon to all such as should quietly return to their homes, but Wyatt would not permit the herald to read this paper to the people. Norfolk then ordered an assault; but when five hundred Londoners,—the trained bands of the city,—led by Captain Brett, reached the head of the bridge, they suddenly stopped, and their captain, turning round at their head, and lowering his sword, said, "Masters, we go about to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends, in a quarrel unrightful and wicked; for they do but consider the great miseries which are like to fall upon us, if we shall be under the rule of the proud Spaniards; wherefore, I think no English heart ought to say against them. I and others will spend our blood their quarrel." He had scarcely finished, when the

band of Londoners turned their ordnance against the rest of the queen's forces, shouting, every one of them, "a Wyatt!—a Wyatt!" At this defection the Duke of Norfolk and his officers turned and fled, leaving ordnance and all their ammunition behind them. The Londoners crossed the bridge, and three-fourths of the regular troops, among whom were some companies of the royal guard, went after them, and took service with Sir Thomas Wyatt and the insurgents.* When the intelligence reached London all was fright and confusion, especially at the court, where almost the only person that showed fortitude and composure was the queen herself. Wyatt ought to have made a forced march upon London during this consternation, but he loitered on his way: he did not reach Greenwich and Deptford till three days after the affair at Rochester-bridge; and then he lay three whole days doing nothing, and allowing the government to make their preparations. The queen, with her lords and ladies, rode from Westminster into the city, where she declared to the mayor, aldermen, and livery, that she meant not otherwise to marry than as her council should think both honourable and advantageous to the realm,—that she could still continue unmarried, as she had done so long,—and therefore she trusted that they would truly assist her in repressing such as rebelled on this account. On the same day on which she made this visit her spirits were cheered by intelligence that the Duke of Suffolk had been discomfited in the midland counties, and that Sir Peter Carew and his friends had been put to flight in the west.† She issued a proclamation of pardon to all the Kentish men with the exception of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir George Harper, and the other gentlemen, offering as a reward to the man that should take or kill Wyatt, lands worth a hundred pounds a-year to him and his heirs for ever. On the 3rd of February, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, Wyatt and his host (who are differently

* Stow.—Holinshed.—Godwin.

† Several of Carew's party played him false. He escaped to France.

estimated at two thousand and at eight thousand men), marched from Deptford, along the river side, towards Southwark. Wyatt placed two pieces of artillery in battery at the Southwark end of the bridge, and caused a deep trench to be dug between the bridge and the place where he was. Contrary to his expectations, the Londoners did not throw open their gates, and he had not resolution sufficient to attempt an assault by the bridge. He again lost two whole days, and on the morning of the third day the garrison in the Tower opened a heavy fire of great pieces of ordnance, culverins, and demy-cannons full against the foot of the bridge and against Southwark, and the two steeples of St. Olave's and St. Mary Overy. As soon as the people of Southwark saw this, they no longer treated Wyatt as a welcome guest, but, making a great noise and lamentation, they entreated him to move elsewhere. Telling the people that he would not have them hurt on his account, he marched away towards Kingston, hoping to cross the river by the bridge there, and to fall upon London and Westminster from the west. It was four o'clock in the afternoon (on the 6th day of February) when he reached Kingston, and found about thirty feet of the bridge broken down, and an armed force on the opposite bank to prevent his passage. He placed his guns in battery, and drove away the troops; with the help of some sailors he got possession of a few boats and barges, and repaired the bridge; but it was eleven o'clock at night before these operations were finished, and his men were sorely fatigued and dispirited. Allowing them no time for rest,—for his plan was to turn back upon London by the left bank of the Thames, and to reach the city gates before sunrise,—he marched them on through a dreary winter night. When he was within six miles of London the carriage of one of his great brass guns broke down, and he very absurdly lost some hours in remounting the piece; and so, when he reached Hyde Park, it was broad daylight, and the royal forces, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, were ready to receive him there. Many of Wyatt's followers had deserted before he crossed the river at Kingston; others had lingered

behind during the night-march; and, *now*, many more abandoned him on seeing that formidable preparations were made against him. With great bravery, however, he resolved to fight his way through the royal army, still entertaining a confident hope that the citizens would rise in his favour. After a short "thundering with the great guns," he charged the queen's cavalry, who, opening their ranks, suffered him to pass with about four hundred of his followers, and then instantly closing in the rear of this weak van-guard, they cut him off from the main body of the insurgents, who thereupon stood still, wavered, and then took a contrary course. In the meanwhile Wyatt rushed rapidly along Charing Cross and the Strand to Ludgate, which, to his mortification, he found closed against him. In vain he shouted "Queen Mary! God save Queen Mary, who has granted our petition, and will have no Spanish husband!" A part of Pembroke's army had followed Wyatt in his rapid advance, and, when he turned to go back by the same road, he found that he must cut his way through dense masses of horse and foot. He charged furiously, and actually fought his way as far as the Temple. But there he found that his band was diminished to some forty or fifty men, and that further resistance was utterly hopeless. Clarencieux rode up to him, persuading him to yield, and not, "beyond all his former madness, surcharge himself with the blood of these brave fellows." At last Wyatt threw away his broken sword, and quietly surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkley, who, mounting him behind him, carried him off instantly to the court.

"The coming of Wyatt to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of rejoicing to such as of late before stood in great fear of him."* He was immediately committed to the Tower; and a proclamation was made that none, upon pain of death, should conceal in their houses any of his faction, but should bring them forth immediately before the lord mayor and other the queen's justices. "By reason of this proclamation, a great multitude of these said poor caitiffs were brought forth,

* Holinshed.

being so many in number, that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receive them; so that for lack of place they were fain to bestow them in divers churches of the said city. And shortly after there were set up in London, for a terror to the common sort (because the White Coats* being sent out of the city, as before ye have heard, revolted from the queen's part to the aid of Wyatt), twenty pair gallows, on the which were hanged in several places to the number of fifty persons, which gallowses remained standing there a great part of the summer following, to the great grief of good citizens, and for example to the commotioners."† In the course of a few weeks, about fifty officers, knights, and gentlemen, were put to death. Twenty-two common soldiers were sent down to Kent with Brett, the captain of the Train-bands, who had deserted at Rochester-bridge, and they were there executed as traitors, and gibbeted. About sixty were led in procession, with halters about their necks, to the Tilt-yard, where the queen granted them a pardon. About four hundred common men, in all, suffered death between the 7th of February and the 12th of March, and many were executed afterwards.‡

The day after the breaking out of Wyatt's rebellion was known at court, the queen resolved to arrest her half-sister Elizabeth and her former favourite, the handsome Courtenay, earl of Devon, who were both suspected (and it is by no means clear that they were falsely suspected) of being partakers in the plot. She sent three of her council—Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis—with a strong guard to Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, where Elizabeth was suffering a real or feigned sickness. The worthy councillors did not arrive at the manor-house till ten o'clock at night; the princess had gone to rest, and refused to see them; but, in spite of the remonstrances of her ladies, they rudely burst into her chamber. The deep interest she excited among the Londoners alarmed her enemies;

* The Trained Bands. † Holinshed.
‡ Holinshed.—Stow.—Grafton.—Godwin.

and, after undergoing a rigid examination by the privy council, respecting Wyatt's insurrection and the rising of Carew in the West—of both of which attempts she protested she was entirely innocent—she was dismissed from court in about a fortnight, and allowed to return to Ashridge. The handsome Courtenay was committed to the Tower, in spite of his protestations of innocence. But Elizabeth had scarcely been liberated when Sir William Sentlow, one of her officers, was arrested as an adherent of Wyatt's; and it was asserted that Wyatt had accused the princess, and stated that he had conveyed to her in a bracelet the whole scheme of his plot; and on the 15th of March she was again taken into custody and brought to Hampton Court. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, Bishop Gardiner, chancellor, and nineteen members of the council, went down to her from the queen, and charged her directly with being concerned, not only in Wyatt's conspiracy, but also in the rebellion of Sir Peter Carew, and declared unto her that it was the queen's pleasure she should go to the Tower.

"Upon Saturday following," says Holinshed (or rather Fox, whose words the old chronicler here transcribes), "that is, the next day, two lords of the council (the one was the Earl of Sussex, *the other shall be nameless*) came and certified her grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide. But one of the lords replied, that neither tide nor time was to be delayed. And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered that he durst not permit that. But the other lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl of Sussex), kneeling down, said she should have liberty to write, and, as a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof." Whereupon she wrote a letter, which has been preserved. She began by referring to some former promises made to her by her sister Mary. She proceeded humbly to beseech her majesty to grant

her an audience, that she might answer before herself, and not before the members of the privy council, who might falsely represent her, and that she might be heard by the queen before going to the Tower, if possible, if not, at least before she should be further condemned. After many protestations of innocence and expressions of her hope in the queen's natural kindness, she told Mary that there was something which she thought and believed her majesty would never know properly unless she heard her with her own ears. She then continued: "I have heard in my time of many cast away, for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and in late days I heard my Lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in to believe that he could not live safely if the admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his death. Though these persons are not to be compared to your majesty, yet I pray God, as (that) evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other; and all for that they have heard false report, and not hearkened to the truth known. Therefore, once again, kneeling with humbleness of my heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your highness . . . . . And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but, on my faith, I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter by any means; and to this, my truth, I will stand in to my death." *

This letter, which was much more spirited than might have been expected, particularly if we reflect that Elizabeth, in all probability, was *not* ignorant of the plan of the rebellion, availed her nothing. She never received

* Sir Henry Ellis's collection of Orig. Lett. Hearne has printed the same letter in his preface to the Latin edition of Camden's Annals. The original is in the State Paper Office; a transcript among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

the "only one word of answer" for which she humbly craved in a postscript; and upon the morrow, which was Palm Sunday, strict orders were issued throughout London that every one should keep the church and carry his palm; and while the Londoners, men, women, and children, were thus engaged, Elizabeth was secretly carried down to the Tower by water, attended by the Earl of Surrey and the other *nameless* lord. The barge stopped under Traitors' Gate. Then, coming out with one foot upon the stair, she said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friend but thee alone!" Going a little farther, she sat down on a stone to rest herself; and when the lieutenant of the Tower begged her to rise and come in out of the wet and cold, she said, "Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth whither you bring me." She evidently apprehended an immediate execution; but the lords carried her to an inner apartment, and left her there in great dismay, after seeing the door well locked, bolted, and barred.*

But before Elizabeth entered the Tower gates other interesting victims had issued from them to the grave. The Lady Jane Grey, who had been condemned to death three months before, was indulging in the hope of a free pardon when the ill-managed insurrection broke out. It appears very evident that Mary had no intention of executing the sentence upon her, but *now* she was easily made to believe that the life of the Lady Jane was incompatible with her own safety; and, in less than a week after Sir Thomas Wyatt's discomfiture, she signed the death-warrant both for Jane and her husband. On the morning of the 12th of February the Lord Guildford Dudley was delivered to the sheriffs and conducted to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where, after saying his prayers and shedding a few tears, he laid his head on the block and died quietly. The fate of this young man excited great commiseration among the people, and as it was calculated that that of his wife would make a still greater impression, it was resolved to execute her more

* Holinshed, from Fox.

privately within the walls of the Tower. Mary showed what she and all Catholics considered a laudable anxiety for the soul of this youthful sacrifice, and Fecknam, a very Catholic dean of St. Paul's, tormented her in her last hours with arguments and disputations; but it appears that she was stedfast in the faith which she had embraced, and the doctrines of which she had studied under learned teachers with unusual care. On the dreadful morning she had the strength of mind to decline a meeting with her husband, saying that it would rather foment their grief than be a comfort in death, and that they should shortly meet in a better place and more happy estate. She even saw him conducted towards Tower Hill, and, with the same settled spirit, she beheld his headless trunk when it was returned to be buried in the chapel of the Tower. By this time her own scaffold, made upon the green within the verge of the Tower, was all ready; and almost as soon as her husband's body passed towards the chapel the lieutenant led her forth, she being "in countenance nothing cast down, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears, although her gentlewomen, Elizabeth Tilney and Mistress Helen, wonderfully wept." She had a book in her hand, wherein she prayed until she came to the scaffold. From that platform she addressed a few modest words to the few by-standers, stating that she had justly deserved her punishment for suffering herself to be made the instrument, though unwillingly, of the ambition of others, and that she hoped her fate might serve as a memorable example in after times. She then implored God's mercy, caused herself to be disrobed by her gentlewomen, veiled her own eyes with her handkerchief, and laid her head on the block, exhorting the lingering executioner to the performance of his office. At last the axe fell, and her lovely head rolled away from the body, drawing tears from the eyes of the spectators, yea, even of those who, from the very beginning, were best affected to Queen Mary's cause.*

The father of Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk, who had been beaten and taken, like a blundering blockhead,

* Bishop Godwin.—De Thou.

and who was not worthy of the child whom his ambition and imbecility sacrificed, was tried on the 17th of February. He went to Westminster Hall with a cheerful and a very stout countenance, but at his return he was very pensive and heavy, desiring all men to pray for him. There was need,—for he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and there was no hope of another pardon for this man, whose "facility to bye-practices" had occasioned all or most of these troubles. On the 23rd of February, eleven days after the execution of his daughter and son-in-law, he was publicly beheaded on Tower Hill. Other executions and numerous committals took place while Elizabeth lay in that state prison. Sir Thomas Wyatt met his fate with great fortitude on the 11th of April, solemnly declaring in his last moments that neither the Princess Elizabeth nor Courtenay was privy to his plans. About a fortnight after this execution Lord Thomas Grey, brother to the late Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower Hill; and a little later the learned William Thomas, late clerk of the council, who had attempted suicide in the Tower, was conveyed to Tyburn, and there hanged, headed, and quartered.

Several times Elizabeth fancied that her last hour was come. Early in the month of May the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office, and Sir Henry Bedingfield, a bigoted and cruel man, was appointed in his stead. This new constable went suddenly to the fortress with a hundred soldiers: the princess, marvellously discomforted, asked of the persons about her whether the Lady Jane's scaffold were taken down or not, fearing that her own turn was come. The circumstance of Bedingfield's appointment seemed very suspicious: seventy years before Sir James Tyrrell had been suddenly substituted for Sir Robert Brackenbury, and in the night of mystery and horror that followed Brackenbury's arrival in the Tower, the two princes of the House of York had disappeared, and, as it was generally believed, had been savagely murdered in their bed. But Elizabeth's fears were groundless; her sister had no intention of taking her life; and a few days after, on the 19th of May, the royal captive was conveyed by water from the

Tower to Richmond: from Richmond she was removed to Windsor, and from Windsor to Woodstock, where she was finally fixed under the vigilant eyes of the severe and suspicious Bedingfield. Six days after her liberation Courtenay, earl of Devon, was delivered out of the Tower and sent down to Fotheringay Castle, where he was watched with equal vigilance. Meanwhile preparations were making for the queen's marriage, and the people of London occasionally gave no equivocal proofs of their hatred of it, and of the changes introduced in the national religion. On one Sunday in June, as Dr. Pendleton was preaching papistry at Paul's Cross, he was shot at and nearly killed. A little before the court and clergy were greatly enraged at finding a cat, with her head shorn and dressed like a Roman priest, hanged on a gallows in Cheapside; and a little after, a still more violent excitement was produced by a poor wench who played the part of a spirit, and anticipated some of the impositions of the Cock Lane ghost, "expressing certain seditious words against the queen, the Prince of Spain, the mass, confession, &c."*

On the 19th of July, Philip, prince of Spain, arrived in Southampton Water. As the Count of Egmont, one of his ambassadors, had been violently assaulted some short time before by the people, who took him for his master, Philip came well attended with a body-guard and troops, and he lingered a few days at the place of his disembarkation, as if in order to ascertain the humour of the nation. There was a little circumstance which did not seem exactly calculated to give him confidence. The Lord Admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy when Philip was on board, because they had not lowered their topsails as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas. Four days after his arrival the prince travelled to Winchester, and there he was met, on the following morning (it being a wet day), by his mature bride Mary, who took no pains to conceal her impatience, being enabled in her conscience to plead her anxiety for a legitimate and holy Roman succession as the only means of securing the faith in England. They

* Stow.

had a long familiar talk, and, on the feast of St. James,—the titular saint of Spain,—their nuptials were celebrated at Winchester with great pomp.

Mary had summoned parliament some three months before her husband's arrival: both Houses showed that they were still jealous of the Spaniard, and they adopted further precautions to prevent his ruling as a king in England. Philip brought large sums of money with him; but even money could not win him the good-will of the corrupt courtiers. In a word, no one loved him but Mary; and the fondness of a sick and excessively jealous wife was anything but agreeable. He soon showed her the real motives of his marriage, which were, to become absolute master of England, to wear the crown as if in his own right, and to dispose of all the resources of the country in his schemes of aggrandizement on the Continent. Though a bigot, he was certainly less anxious about the question of religion. Mary would have gratified him at the sacrifice of the interests and liberties of her people: she summoned a new parliament, and neglected no means likely to render it compliant. The Spanish gold was distributed with a liberal hand; and, imitating the precedent of former reigns, she wrote circular letters, commanding and imploring that the counties and boroughs would return such members as were wholly devoted to her interests and pleasures. This parliament met at Westminster on the 12th of November: the Lords being as subservient as ever,—the Commons consisting wholly of Catholics or of men indifferent to the great question of religion. Both Houses were ready to second the queen's bigotry, always with the old exception that she should by no means force them to surrender the temporal fruits of their late schism. In the preceding parliament Mary had thought it prudent to retain the title of Supreme Head of the Church; but now she resolved to obtain a repeal of the act passed in the time of her father, which irrevocably annexed that title to the crown. The jealous eyes of the possessors of abbey lands and monastic property saw a long way beyond this mere renunciation of a title; and it was found impossible to make them repeal the Act of Supremacy

until the queen caused to be submitted to them the pope's explicit confirmation of the abbey lands to their new proprietors, which confirmation had been conceded by the court of Rome from a conviction that they must either receive the English penitents on their own terms or lose them altogether. The pope's confirmation was delivered through Cardinal Pole, the new legate for England, whose attainder had been reversed by the present parliament. With their minds thus set at ease as to their goods and chattels,* both Houses were wonderfully compliant in matters of faith. They listened with contrite countenances to a speech from the lord cardinal, who invited them to return to the bosom of holy mother church, from which they had been so unhappily separated; they voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they greatly repented of the schism in which they had been living, declaring their readiness to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the only true church, and imploring their majesties and the lord cardinal to intercede with their holy father the pope for their absolution and forgiveness. Gardiner presented this petition to Pole, and Pole, in the name of the pope, forthwith gave full absolution to the parliament and whole kingdom of England; and this being done, they all went to the royal chapel in procession, singing *Te Deum*. Without the least hesitation parliament revived the old brutal laws against heretics, enacted statutes against seditious words, and made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. But when Mary's minister proposed that Philip should wear, if not the royal, at least the matrimonial crown, they showed a resolute opposition, and the queen was obliged to drop the project of his coronation, as well as that which she had entertained, of

* Michele, the Venetian ambassador, says that the English in general would have turned Jews or Turks, if their sovereign pleased; but the restoration of the abbey lands by the crown kept alive a constant dread among all those who possessed church property. The restitution of the church lands which had been in the hands of the crown cost Mary sixty thousand pounds a-year of her revenue.

getting him declared presumptive heir to the crown. Nor was she more successful when she attempted to obtain subsidies from the Commons, in order to support her husband and the emperor in their wars with France. Philip found it necessary to make an attempt at obtaining popularity: he recommended the instant release of some of the most distinguished of the prisoners in the Tower. The handsome Earl of Devon, after a while, received permission to travel on the continent, and he died soon after (in 1556) at Padua.*

In her exceeding anxiety for issue, Mary mistook the commencement of a dropsy for the sure sign of pregnancy; and when Cardinal Pole was introduced to her on his happy return to England, she fondly fancied that the child was quickened, even as John the Baptist leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin! On the 27th of November the Lord Mayor of London, with the aldermen all in scarlet, assembled according to commandment in St. Paul'sChurch at nine o'clock in the morning, and in a great fog or mist; and Dr. Chadsey, one of the prebends, preached in the choir in the presence of Bonner, bishop of London, and nine other bishops; and, before he began preaching, he read a letter sent from the lords of the queen's council, the tenor whereof was, that the Bishop of London should send out certain forms of prayer,† wherein, after thanksgiving to God for his great mercies to this kingdom in

* Ambassades de Noailles.—Stow.—Holinshed—Godwin.—Michele, Relazione.—Strype.—Burnet.—Nares, Memoirs of Lord Burghley.—The title of Courtenay, earl of Devon, remained dormant, from the death of this young nobleman, for nearly three centuries, till the claim to the inheritance of the honour was established a few years ago by the present earl. For the history of the House of Courtenay, one of the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, see Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' chap. lxi.

† Several of the prayers used on this occasion have been preserved. They were composed by different priests, who nearly all thought it necessary to pray that the child might be a male child, "well favoured and witty," with strength and valour to keep down the heretics.

giving hopes of an heir to the crown, and infusing life into the embryo, they should pray for the preservation of the queen and the infant, and for her happy delivery, and cause *Te Deum* to be sung everywhere. But the business did not end at St. Paul's Church: it was taken up in both houses of parliament, and it gave great occupation to the whole court. "For then," says Godwin, "by parliament many things were enacted concerning the education of the babe; and much clatter was elsewhere kept about preparations for the child's swaddling clothes, cradle, and other things requisite at the delivery; until, in June in the ensuing year, it was manifested that all was little better than a dream." The parliament, in fact, passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed Philip protector during the minority of the infant; but this was all that could be obtained in favour of the suspected Spaniard; and shortly after Mary dissolved the parliament in ill humour.*

* It appears from Mary's will, which was dated the 30th of April, 1558, or about seven months before her death, that, down to that time, she was confident of being *enceinte*, for she made a provision for settling the crown on her issue.—*Sir Frederick Madden, 'Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary;' Introd. Memoir and Copy of Will in Appendix.*

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THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. VIII

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1485—1603.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

MARY.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1555.—THIS year opened most gloomily for the Protestants. The queen sent Thomas Thirlby, the new bishop of Ely, the Lord Anthony Montacute, and Sir Edward Carne, or Karne, with a very honourable train of gentlemen and others, as ambassadors to Rome, to confirm the reconciliation of the nation with the Catholic church, and to concert measures for the promotion of the old religion, to the exclusion of all others. But Mary wanted no foreign advisers to urge her into the paths of intolerance and persecution. The conviction was deeply settled in her heart's core, and in her brain,—and there were bishops of English birth to insist upon it,—that toleration in religion only led to indifference and the eternal perdition of men's souls,—that any reconciliation of parties or sects was not to be thought of,—that it was the duty of religious princes to exterminate the heretical infection,—that the *mass of the people*,* after all, were

* Notwithstanding the progress made by the Reformation during the short reign of Edward VI., it is probable that this statement was correct. In London, and the great cities generally, there were many Protestants, but in the rural districts their number was comparatively small. There appears, however, to have been a great difference in this respect

attached to the discipline and doctrine of the only true church; and that those of them who were not, would soon come back into the right way if all the heretical portion of the clergy, particularly the bishops, were taken from them, and treated with wholesome severity. The prisons were already crowded—the inquisitors had only to choose their victims, and prepare their stakes and fagots. There were several preludes and preparations to accustom the people to the degradation of these spiritual teachers, whom, only two years before, all had been bound by law to revere and obey. Some married priests, who would not leave their wives, were sent in procession round St. Paul's Church with white sheets over them, and burning tapers and scourges in their hands; and when this humiliating ceremony was over they were publicly whipped. These scenes were repeated in different parts of the kingdom; and the unlucky wives of clergymen were occasionally treated with equal contumely.*

The revived statutes against heretics—that is to say, the acts first passed against the Lollards in the times of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.—were to take effect from the 20th of January (1555). Previous to that great day of rejoicing, Bonner, with eight bishops and a hundred and sixty orthodox priests, made a grand procession through London to return thanks to the Almighty for the sudden renewal of divine grace in the land. Then a commission sat in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, for the trial of Protestants. The first man brought before them was John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had been lying in Newgate among cut-throats and desperadoes for more than a year. When questioned and brow-beaten by his judge, Rogers pointedly asked, "Did not you, yourself, for

among the counties. Norfolk and Suffolk, for example, were to a great extent Protestant, and no part of England suffered so much from Mary's persecutions, though they, in effect, had set her on the throne upon promises which her bigotry could never permit her to keep.

* Holinshed.—Grafton.—Stow.—Strype.

twenty years, pray against the pope?" "I was forced by cruelty," replied Bishop Gardiner. "And will you use the like cruelty to us?" said Rogers. The court sentenced him to the flames.* On the night after Rogers's martyrdom in Smithfield the Protestant bishop Hooper, one of the pillars of the reformed church, was told that he was to be burnt, not in Smithfield, however, but at Gloucester, among his own people: and at Gloucester he was burnt in a slow fire on the 9th of February. The same course was adopted with Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, a rigid man and of a rough behaviour, who was sent down from London to his own diocese, where he was burnt alive on the 30th of March. About the same time fires were lit in other parts of the kingdom. On the eastern side, on the very day that Bishop Hooper was burned at Gloucester, Dr. Rowland Taylor, who had lived for some time in the family of Archbishop Cranmer, who preferred him to the rectory of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was burned in that town. This Taylor was one of the boldest of those who suffered for conscience' sake, and, like nearly every one of those Protestant martyrs, he was a man of humble birth. From this Rowland Taylor descended the eloquent, the learned, the great and amiable Jeremy Taylor, the antagonist of the Church of Rome, and yet the advocate of toleration, —one of the first and best of that holy band who taught

* Fuller.—Godwin.—Blunt.—Dispatches of Noailles, the French ambassador. This execution produced a great effect upon the people, but one altogether different from what the wretched Mary and her bishops expected. Noailles, who was a Catholic, says, "This day the confirmation of the alliance between the pope and this kingdom has been made by a public and solemn sacrifice of a preaching doctor named Rogers, who has been burnt alive for being a Lutheran; *but he has met his death persisting in his opinion.* At which the greater part of the people here took such pleasure that they did not fear to give him many acclamations to comfort his courage; and even his children stood by consoling him, in such a way that he looked as if they were conducting him to a merry marriage."

that God was not served by the torment of his creatures. The now prevalent fanaticism of the papists occasionally awoke a like spirit on the part of the Protestants. On Easter day, the most solemn festival of the Roman church, one William Branch, or Flower, who had once been a monk of Ely, but who had embraced the reformed religion, stabbed a priest as he was administering the sacrament to the people in the manner of Rome in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster. No crime could be so frightful as this in the eyes of the Catholics: there was no hope of escaping from a crowded church, and the enthusiast does not appear to have attempted it. On the 24th of April his *sacrilegious* right hand was cut off, and then, "for opinions in matters of religion," he was burned in the sanctuary near to St. Margaret's Churchyard.*

During the festivities of Easter the Princess Elizabeth was summoned to court, that she might congratulate the queen, who had taken her chamber at Hampton Court, *to be delivered;* and it should seem that Elizabeth acquitted herself very dexterously on this delicate occasion. But, to return to the chief business of this deplorable reign, John Cardmaker, chancellor of the church of Wells, was burned at London on the last day of May; and John Bradford suffered the same cruel death at the same place about a month later. A little before, or a little after these executions in the capital, Thomas Hawkes, an Essex gentleman, was burned at Coggeshall; John Lawrence, a priest at Colchester; Tomkins, a weaver, at Shoreditch; Pigott, a butcher, at Braintree; Knight, a barber, at Maldon; and Hunter, an apprentice to a silk-weaver, at Brentwood.

Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, who was far less cruel than many, soon grew weary of presiding in the horrible court at the church of St. Mary Overy: he withdrew as early as the month of February, when his duties devolved upon a more apter spirit, Bonner, bishop of London, who possessed, in effect, all the essentials for an inquisitor and familiar of bigotry con-

* Holinshe * Stow.—Godwin.

the holy office in a greater degree than any Englishman we ever heard of. This prelate sat in the consistory of St. Paul's, where the lord mayor and certain of the aldermen were forced to attend. In this court he could, with ease and great comfort to himself, condemn men to the flames at the rate of half a dozen a-day; but even Bonner was too slow for the government; the privy council kept continually urging him forward in this frightful persecution; and Mary and her husband addressed to him one letter (if not more) as if even he wanted excitement to the prosecution of heretics.* Cardinal Pole, whose moderation and mercy caused him to be suspected at Rome of entertaining himself some heretical notions, in vain endeavoured to stop the destructive torrent, and to prove to Mary and her government that the practice of persecution was not only highly dangerous to themselves but the scandal of all religion.

Ever since the month of March of the preceding year Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, had been removed from the Tower to Oxford. The two latter, like the primate, had favoured the usurpation of the Lady Jane; and Ridley, with great spirit, honestly avowed that he had acted with his eyes open,—that he had never been actuated by fear of Northumberland or of any one else, but merely by a conviction that that step was necessary and indispensable for the preservation of the Protestant religion. If Cranmer had had the same decision and courage, it is *possible* that affairs might have taken a different turn, or, at the worst, he would have had a better excuse to plead than that of his having gone into the scheme of excluding Mary against his conscience, being overpowered by the importunities of the dying Edward. Ridley, and Latimer also, were amenable to the same charge of treason as Cranmer; but for very evident purposes it was resolved to sink this offence in the more awful charge of

* Burnet.—Strype.—Hallam, Constitutional History. Burnet gives, in his Collection of Records, a letter from the king and queen to Bishop Bonner, recommending more activity.

heresy. The timid character of the primate was well known, and the Catholic party seem to have considered it possible to force all three to recant.

On the 14th of April, about five weeks after their first arrival at Oxford, they were brought out of their prisons to St. Mary's Church, where questions relating to transubstantiation, and the efficacy of the mass as a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of quick and dead, were submitted to them. They were allowed to debate these points in public, and, if they could convince their mortal enemies, then their prison gates would be opened. But the orthodox controversialists did not give themselves the trouble to preserve even the appearance of fair play; they would allow their opponents no books,—no time for preparation,—nor would they let them argue together. Cranmer was to face alone their entire battery on the 16th of April, Ridley on the 17th, and Latimer on the 18th. On the day appointed Cranmer appeared before the consistory assembled in the divinity-school, and, with more courage than had been expected from him, he proceeded to support the tenets which he had taught; but there were many voices to one; the doctors called him unlearned, unskilful, ignorant; and the Oxford scholars very generally hissed and hooted, and clapped their hands, whenever he advanced any opinion they disliked. On the following day Ridley appeared in the same place, and met with much the same treatment; but Ridley had more nerve than Cranmer, and more learning than Latimer, and to him is generally attributed the glory of the contest on the Protestant side. But he might as well have held his tongue, for, whenever he pressed them closely with an argumentative syllogism, they all lifted up their voices against him together. "I have but one tongue," cried Ridley; "I cannot answer at once to you all." When poor Latimer was brought up to be baited on the following day, he was so weak and faint that he could scarcely stand. In spite of the persecutions which he had himself directed when the current ran in a different direction, his appearance was calculated to excite sympathy in every breast except those of con-

troversialists and dogmatists. "Ha! good master," said the aged prelate to one of his judges, "I pray ye be good to an old man. You may be once as old as I am; you may come to this age, and this debility." Cranmer and Ridley had disputed in Latin, but Latimer spoke in his mother tongue, and was the better understood. But they would not permit him to proceed without frequent interruptions; and the Oxford scholars hissed and hooted, and laughed at him, making altogether such a din that the divinity-school looked more like a bear-garden than a scene appointed for the discussion of dogmas deemed essential to the salvation of men's souls. Poor Latimer, a man of humble birth, and simple, if not rustic manners, said, with a *naïveté* which would be amusing in other circumstances, that in his time and day he had spoken before two great kings more than once, for two or three hours together, without interruption; "but now," he added, "if I may speak the truth, by your leaves, I cannot be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like in such an audience all my life long." On the 28th of April he was again, together with Ridley and Cranmer, brought up to St. Mary's Church. They were asked by the commissioners whether they would now turn or not; but they bade them read on, in the name of God, for that they were not minded to turn; and so were they condemned all three! For various reasons the execution of their sentence was suspended for nearly eighteen months, and at the end of that period (on the 16th of October, 1555) Ridley and Latimer were led to the stake without Cranmer, who remained in prison five months longer. In the ditch on the north side of the pleasant town of Oxford, and over against Baliol College, a great stake was erected. It was usual to preach a sermon to the heretics before burning them; and one Dr. Smith, who, for interest or fear, had renounced Popery in King Edward's time, and who was now all the more zealous on that account, mounted the pulpit on this occasion, and delivered a vehement dis-

course on the text,—"Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." When the sermon was over Ridley stripped himself for the fire, giving away his apparel, a new groat, some nutmegs and bits of ginger, a dial, and such other few things as he had about him; and among the by-standers were men too happy to get any rag of him. In the helplessness of old age Latimer had left it to his keeper to strip him; but when he stood up *in his shroud*, erect and fearless, by the side of the fagots, he seemed, in the eyes of some of the beholders, to be no longer the withered and decrepit old man, "but as comely a father as one might lightly behold." Ridley was tied first to the stake. As they were chaining Latimer to the reverse of the stake, the hardy old man exclaimed, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Then the flames arose, and Latimer was soon seen to expire in the midst of them; but Ridley's sufferings were long and dreadful. The Lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of the university, the other commissioners appointed by the court, and a multitude of Oxford scholars and gentlemen, stood by and witnessed the whole, and for the most part with pious and complacent countenances, like men that felt the happy assurance that they were doing God service. But there were other spectators who looked on with very different eyes. The fortitude of the sufferers confirmed Protestants in their faith; every execution made some converts, and went to awaken a thorough and most lasting abhorrence of the persecuting church.*

About six weeks before these executions at Oxford, King Philip passed over to the Continent, in no very good humour with our island, for he found that he had in a manner thrown himself away in a marriage with a disagreeable woman. Mary's uncomfortable fondness seemed to increase with his absence: she wrote him tender letters, to which he seldom replied, except when

* Strype.—Fox.—Godwin.—Blunt.

he wished her to obtain money for his use from her parliament; and he entertained his courtiers (if not a mistress) with unmanly criticisms on his wife's person and manners. On the 21st of October, five days after the death of Ridley and Latimer, the parliament met in a mood less obsequious than usual, and the queen, in her anxiety to serve the Church of Rome, excited a somewhat stormy opposition. Some months before, in her ardent zeal for the pope, she had the imprudence to consult certain members of the privy council touching the restoration of all the abbey lands in England, which she told them she considered had been taken away from their proper owners in time of schism, and that by unlawful means, and such as were contrary both to the interests of God and of the church. She told them that, for her own part, she considered an immediate surrender of what the crown had received essential to salvation. From her vehemence it was expected that she would press for the surrender of the lands by whomsoever held, and on this head the sensitive parliament were never at their ease during the short remainder of her reign. But during the present session she only required them to legalise her restoring the first-fruits and tenths, and the impropriations vested in the crown. Even to this parliament objected; and when the commons came to vote supplies, it was asked with some violence what justice there was in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities when she refused to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?—and it was also suggested that the Catholic clergy, who were growing rich by the royal liberality, ought to make large sacrifices for the relief of their benefactress. At last the House passed the supplies, but with a considerable deduction from the amount originally proposed; and they also passed the bills about the first-fruits, and tenths, and impropriations, but in such a spirit as showed that it would be unsafe to urge them to further concessions in that direction. After a short session, the queen dissolved parliament on the 9th of December.*

* Journals.—Holinshed.—Stow.

During the session Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, had gone to his final account. He attended at the opening of the Houses, and displayed his usual ability and energy; but on the third day his bodily sufferings obliged him to quit his post, and he expired of a painful disease on the 12th of November. The great seal was given to another ecclesiastic—to Heath, archbishop of York; but, though keen in the persecuting of Protestants, the new chancellor had not the talent and address of the old one.

Meanwhile (A.D. 1556) Mary's unthankful husband kept pressing her for money, and still more money. To make up for the scanty supplies voted by parliament, she and her new chancellor had recourse to a variety of illegal and violent expedients. All the money was spent as soon as got; the mass of it went to her husband or to Rome.

It appears that the court calculated that when Cranmer should be no longer supported by the more courageous spirit of Ridley and Latimer he would temporise, as he had so often done before, and, in the fear of death, take such steps as would cover himself with infamy and bring discredit on the whole Protestant party; and that for these express reasons he was left alive. It should be mentioned, however, that there were other reasons, and that, as a metropolitan, his case was reserved for the pope himself, the tribunal which had despatched the two suffragan bishops not being competent, in canonical law, to take cognizance of it. By a grievous mockery the pope cited this close prisoner at Oxford to appear at Rome and answer for his heresies. At the end of the eighty days, having taken no care, as it was said in the papal instrument, to appear at Rome, he was pronounced guilty, and Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, were appointed commissioners to degrade him, and to see the sentence executed upon him. Cranmer, who was delivered over to the secular power,—for by a delicate fiction the persecuting church was never the executor of its own sentences,—trembled at the near approach of a horrible death, and betrayed that weakness upon which his enemies had calculated. He had written

in abject terms to the queen before, and, by receiving the visits in his cell, and listening to the arguments, of a learned Spanish monk—a certain friar Soto,—and other Catholics, he seems to have wished that it should be believed he was still open to conviction. He now renewed his applications for mercy, and turned a ready ear to those who suggested that mercy might be obtained, though only by recantation. It was a vital point with his enemies to lead him to this; and, if the truth is told, they proceeded with a dexterity and malice truly infernal, softening the hardships of his captivity, which might have rendered death less terrible, and giving him again to taste of the pleasures of life. They removed him to the house of the Dean of Christchurch, where he fared delicately, and was allowed to play at bowls and walk about at his pleasure. Not to dwell upon this miserable scene, in which, after all, Cranmer excites rather pity and compassion than contempt, and in which he is far more easily excused than in many others of his preceding career, he formally renounced the faith he had taught, and, as his enemies were not satisfied with his signature to one scroll, he signed recantation after recantation until the number amounted to six![*] But if we make a charitable and a proper allowance for the weakness of human nature in the case of the victim, we can make none for the diabolical malice of his persecutors, who, when they had thus, as they conceived, loaded him with eternal obloquy, led him to the stake. While the monks and the learned doctors at Oxford were in great jubilee at having brought down to the very mire one of the proudest columns of the reformed church, Mary sent secret orders to Dr. Cole, provost of Eton College, to prepare his condemned sermon. On the 21st of March the prisoner was brought up to St. Mary's Church, where Cole explained in the sermon that repentance does not avert all punishment, as examples in the Bible proved; that Cranmer had done the church and the Roman Catholics so much mischief that he must die; and that

[*] Strype has published them all. See Eccles. Memor. iv. 407.

their majesties had, besides, other good reasons for burning him. The fallen primate of England had learned the day before what was intended for him, and, having no longer the slightest hope of life, he seems to have summoned up resolution to meet his inevitable doom like a man. Some few men—their number was wonderfully small considering that death of torture—had recanted when brought to the stake and offered the queen's pardon on that condition; but it was not to be expected that any one would do so when there was no offer of pardon, but, on the contrary, a certain assurance of death. Accordingly, Cranmer acted as every man would have done in the like situation: he renounced the pope and all his doctrines,—he gave a brief summary of his real faith,—he protested against the atrocious means which had been used,—he accused himself of having, from fear of death, sacrificed truth and his conscience by subscribing the recantations. It was not convenient to permit him to make a long address: he was soon pulled down from the platform in the church on which he stood, and hurried away to the same ditch, over against Baliol College, where his more fortunate friends, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered five months before. He was stripped to the shirt, and tied to the stake: he made no moan or useless prayer for mercy in this world: the death which he had so dreaded, and for so long a time, seemed less dreadful when he saw it face to face. As soon as the flames began to rise he thrust into them his right hand,—that erring hand which had signed the recantations.* The Romish church of England, with all its absolute hopes, may almost be said to have perished in the flames that consumed Cranmer. The impression made by his martyrdom was immense, and as lasting as it was wide and deep. On the side of the Catholics, the putting him to death was as gross an error in policy as it was atrocious and detestable as a crime.

On the very day after Cranmer's death, Cardinal

* Godwin.—Burnet.—Strype.—Blunt, Sketch of the Reformation.

Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was consecrated and installed Archbishop of Canterbury. But, though primate and papal legate, and fully convinced of the atrocity and worse than uselessness of persecution, he could not change the temper of the queen, nor stay the bloody hands of her favourites and ministers. Paul IV., who now wore the tiara, had been his personal enemy; and Pole, who apparently had not more courage than Cranmer, seems to have stood in awe of his fierce and intolerant spirit. On the 27th of June thirteen persons, being condemned for opinions concerning the sacrament, were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow.* "Neither did their cruelty exercise itself on the living only: the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius, long since dead, were dug up, formally accused of heresy, and, no man undertaking their cause (as who durst?), condemned, and publicly burned in the market-place at Cambridge. And Peter Martyr's wife, who died at Oxford, was disinterred, and with barbarous and inhuman spite buried in a dunghill."†

In order that we may not have to return to this revolting subject, we will here throw together a few other incidents, in completion of the picture of Mary's persecutions. From the martyrdom of John Rogers, who suffered on the 4th of February, 1555, about six months after Mary's accession, to the five last victims, who were burned at Canterbury on the 10th of November, 1558, only seven days before her death, not fewer than two hundred and eighty-eight individuals, among whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, fifty-five women, and four children, were burned in different places for their religious opinions; and, in addition to these, there were several hundreds who were tortured, ruined in their goods and estates, and many poor and friendless victims that were left to die of hunger in their prisons. With the exception of some few of the churchmen, these individuals were almost entirely of the middling or humbler classes,—the rich and great, as we have noticed, and as has been observed by several writers before us, showing

* Stow. † Godwin.

little disposition to martyrdom. Only eight laymen of the rank of gentlemen are named; but it would be unjust to represent all the aristocracy as supple hypocrites, though they did not expose themselves voluntarily to persecution. The Earls of Oxford and Westmoreland and Lord Willoughby got into trouble, and were censured by the council for religion; and the second Earl of Bedford suffered a short imprisonment. Among those who were said to have "contemptuously gone over the seas," there were several persons of rank, whose property and interests suffered during their forced travels on the Continent. Other individuals, who held profitable places under government, voluntarily resigned them, and retired to the obscurity of a country life. The politic Cecil, who in heart and in head detested the course pursued, which he saw to be as bad in a political as in a religious light, conformed outwardly to what he could not resist; and it is said that he drew the line of conduct for the Princess Elizabeth, recommending humility and obedience, and certain compliances with the times. But it is quite certain that Elizabeth possessed a natural turn both for simulation and dissimulation, and that she scarcely stood in need of a guide and instructor in these particulars. She opened a chapel in her house, as commanded; she entertained mass-priests; she kept a large crucifix constantly suspended in her chamber; she worked with her own hands garments for saints and Madonnas; and, when permitted to visit the court, and take part in the entertainments, she also, as a price paid therefore, accompanied the queen in her religious processions, which were conducted with great pomp, and in her visits to the re-Catholicized churches, which were in part restored to more than their acnient magnificence.* Elizabeth suffered more annoyance and persecution in

* *Relazione*, by Michele, the Venetian ambassador.—Despatches of Noailles, the French ambassador.—The Venetian says that, though Elizabeth was living *Catholically* (*vivendo Cattolicamente*), yet it was thought that she was only dissimulating.

the way of matrimony than on account of religion. Philip, who was most anxious to remove her by marriage out of the kingdom, proposed, and in fact insisted, that she should give her hand to the Duke of Savoy, who came into England to press his own suit; but the princess obstinately refused, and had the art or good fortune to gain over to her side her sister Mary, who rarely opposed the wishes of her husband. Soon after the King of Sweden tried to obtain her hand for his eldest son Eric. The Swedish ambassador intrusted with this delicate mission was directed by his sovereign to make his application directly to Elizabeth herself, by a message in which neither the queen nor her council was at present to participate. Elizabeth, who confidently looked to the succession of the English crown, as one well aware of the state of Mary's health and of her own great popularity with a large portion of the nation, not only rejected the suit, but resolved to turn the gallant and generous mode in which it was opened by the Swede to her own immediate advantage. She declared that she could never listen to any overtures of this nature which had not previously received the sanction of her majesty. Her majesty was charmed at this declaration, and the two sisters thenceforward lived in tolerable friendship. Elizabeth, who lavished her protestations of gratitude for her majesty's goodness,—her acknowledgments that she was bound to honour, serve, love, and obey her highness in all things,—passed the greater part of the remainder of her sister's reign at her pleasant manor of Hatfield, with few privations and no personal hardships to endure. A tender heart might have been racked and tortured by the fate of others; and in one particular case the royally dull feelings of Elizabeth must have been touched. Sir John Cheke, one of the finest scholars of that period, one of the best of men if he had risen above the intolerance and persecuting spirit of his age, had been preceptor to her brother King Edward, and had assisted in her own education. Sir John got free from the Tower, into which he was thrown for the part he had taken in the affair of Lady Jane

Grey, but all his landed property was confiscated. Having obtained her majesty's permission to travel on the Continent for a limited period, he went to Switzerland. Led by his love of classical lore, he crossed the Alps into Italy, and even visited Rome, the head-quarters of the religion which he had attacked. In the beginning of 1556 he reached Strasburgh, whence he addressed a letter to his dear friend and brother-in law, Sir William Cecil, imploring him to hold fast his Protestant faith. From Strasburgh Sir John Cheke privately repaired on a visit to his two learned friends Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, who were then Mary's ambassadors in Flanders. Both these men were recent court converts to Catholicism, and Paget had testified great zeal. On his return, between Brussels and Antwerp, Cheke, with his companion Sir Peter Carew, was arrested by a provost marshal of King Philip, bound hand and foot, thrown into a cart, and conveyed to a vessel which was about to sail for England. It seems that his leave of absence had expired, and that there was no new political offence to be alleged against him except his not returning home at the time fixed. But in these cruel proceedings the queen and her husband, and the zealots of their party, aimed at a high object. Cheke, though a layman, had done almost as much as Cranmer in consolidating the Protestant church, and it was resolved to force him to recant. Gagged and muffled, he was thrown into the Tower, and, to escape the stake and the miseries to to which he was subjected, he signed three ample recantations, and publicly proclaimed his acceptance of all the tenets and doctrines of the Roman church. But this was not deemed price enough for a liberation from prison to shame and obloquy: he was made to applaud the heavenly mercy of his persecutors; nay, it is said that he was obliged to take his seat on the bench by the side of Bishop Bonner and assist that English inquisitor in sentencing his brother Protestants to the flames at Smithfield. Shame, remorse, and affliction caused this accomplished man to die in the forty-seventh year of his age, of a death more terrible than burning.

Although that institution never obtained a name or formal establishment in England, all the worst practices of the Inquisition were adopted. An ecclesiastical commission was appointed, without authority of parliament, for the effectual extirpation of heresy. The commissioners were empowered to inquire into all heresies, either by presentments, by witnesses, or by any other political way they could devise,—to seize the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books,—to examine and punish all misbehaviour in any church or chapel, and negligence in attending mass, confession, and the rest,—to try all priests that did not preach pure Roman orthodoxy,—and if they found any that did obstinately persist in their heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws. The commissioners had also full power to break open houses, to search premises, to compel the attendance of witnesses, "and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after." * It appears from letters written to Lord North and others, that there was a standing order "to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess." Informers were encouraged and courted; so that nearly every villain could gratify his spite on his personal enemies by accusing them of heresy or of disrespectful words; and, at the same time, secret spies were retained, who not only frequented public places, but also invaded the sacred privacy of domestic life. The justices of the peace received instructions to call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their districts, or more, at their discretion, and impose on them, by oath or otherwise, the duty of secretly learning and searching out such persons as "evil behaved themselves" in church, or that spoke against the king's or queen's proceedings. And it was set down in the same diabolical instructions, "that the information shall be given *secretly* to the justices; and the same justices shall call the accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they are ac-

* Burnet.

cused." * Although the character of the upper classes of society had been wofully deteriorated, the naturally frank and generous spirit of the English people revolted at such practices; and not the hundredth part of the mischief was done which might have been expected from the establishing of such a system. This was the period of persecution for religious opinions; the efforts and the success of Luther, Calvin, and the other Reformers, had excited a fury among the Catholics which nothing short of blood and life could allay. The penal fires were blazing from one end of Europe to the other; and, terrible as was the brief rage of Mary's reign, England, as compared with most other Christian countries, was singularly fortunate.†

Mary's care for the souls of her subjects did not improve their morals. Without going to the full length of some Protestant writers, we may assert, upon good evidence, that crime was on the increase, and that capital offences, independently of those of a religious kind, greatly multiplied. Fifty-two persons were condemned and executed at Oxford at one assize. Loathsome offences re-appeared: the highways became again insecure. On more than one occasion men of rank became thieves and cut-purses. In this unlucky year London and other cities were visited by the "hot burning fevers" which were particularly fatal to old persons. In the following year the country was afflicted by an extreme dearth, and pestilence stalked in the rear of famine. Plots and conspiracies were not wanting.

* Burnet.

† According to Fra Paolo, in the Netherlands alone fifty thousand persons were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned on account of religion; and in France, even before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the number of victims who suffered death in the same cause was to be stated, not, as in England, by hundreds, but by thousands. In Germany, besides the happier tens of thousands who perished in battle fighting for the privilege of worshipping God in their own way, thousands died on the scaffold, in the flames, and in dungeons; and, as yet, the liberty of conscience was insecure.

A.D. 1557.—Mary's husband Philip was now king of Spain, and absolute lord of Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, the Low Countries, the Indies, and other fair and fertile countries, which well deserved a better master. This had not happened by the death, but by the voluntary resignation of his father Charles V. The emperor and king, who had been for forty years the mightiest potentate in Europe, becoming suddenly sick of worldly dominion,—

Cast crowns for rosaries away,—
An empire for a cell.

Though only fifty-five years old, and with his faculties, both mental and physical, to all appearance unimpaired, he determined to renounce his many crowns. On the 25th of October, 1555, he met the States of the Low Countries, explained to them the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from their oaths of allegiance, and devolved his authority on Philip,—weeping, it is said, as he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon his son. A few months later he formally resigned to Philip all his other dominions, and all his titles, with the exception of the lofty one of emperor, which it was not in his power to bestow.* He chose for his retreat the monastery of St. Just, situated on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal, near to Placentia. He survived about two years, chiefly occupying his time in cultivating a little garden, reading divinity, making clocks, and trying experiments and inventions in mechanics. Many things are related of him in his retreat; one of the best, which is probably as true as any of them, being that, upon finding he could never make two clocks to go exactly alike, he deplored the pains he had taken, and the blood he had shed, in order to make all mankind think and believe in one way.†

It was not always that the most Catholic king enjoyed the favour of the court of Rome; for even in that high

* Charles had secured it already to his brother Ferdinand, who became the Emperor Ferdinand I.

† De Thou.—Bayle.

quarter political considerations or personal animosities continually interfered with the spiritual scheme. Paul IV., who, as a bigot, and as the first that introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome,* might have been expected to lean towards the congenial fanaticism of Philip, hated the Spaniards with an ancient and hereditary hatred, and, as a necessary consequence, favoured the French and their party in Italy; for, without the arms of France, the pope saw no possibility of overthrowing the dominion of Spain, which, be it said, was oppressive, and barbarizing, and odious to the Italian people. The great ability of the Emperor Charles had imposed respect; but Paul thought the accession of Philip, in such unusual circumstances, too good an opportunity to be lost, and, before the new king was well settled on his throne, the pontiff opened negotiations with the French. He set on foot plots and conspiracies in Naples, his native country, which was groaning under the weight of Spanish misrule; and he finally arranged a grand plan, by which the French king was to expel Philip by force of arms, and take possession of the Neapolitan kingdom, of the Milanese, and the other states in Upper Italy, which his ancestors had claimed, and several times held, though for very short periods. But Paul had formed an erroneous estimate of Philip, who was ever vigilant

* The *real* Inquisition was first established at Rome by the advice of Paul IV., then only Cardinal Caraffa, a Neapolitan, under the pontificate of Paul III. It was rendered frightful by its rigorous laws and novel forms of procedure; but it did not obtain all its monstrous vigour until the election of Paul IV.: and the first thing the Romans did after the death of this odious pontiff (which happened in 1559) was to burn the tribunal of the holy office, to liberate all the prisoners for matters of religion, and to raze the prisons of the Inquisition to the ground. It is a great mistake to suppose that this horrid tribunal was most powerful at Rome. Many of the popes detested it. The true scene of its might was not beyond the Alps, but the Pyrenees,—in Spain and Portugal. In a considerable part of Italy it was never established at all.

and suspicious, and who soon obtained intelligence of the secret manœuvres in Italy. In an opportune moment, at the end of the year 1555, he sent the Duke of Alva to take upon himself the government of Naples. Before this Alva was governor of Milan, and now he had the supreme command of the whole of Italy that appertained to the Spaniards, whose armies were reinforced in order to meet the French (then preparing to cross the Alps under the Duke of Guise) and keep down the Italian people, who, in many places, were ready to rise. The pope was in a paroxysm of rage, which did not permit him to wear an almost useless mask. He arrested and threw into prison Garcilasso de la Vega, who was then at Rome as ambassador from Philip in his quality of King of England; and he imprisoned and put to the torture De Tassis, the Roman postmaster, for passing certain letters written in the Spanish interest. The Duke of Alva, who soon afterwards massacred the Protestants in heaps in the Low Countries, showed little delicacy towards this turbulent head of the Catholic church: anticipating his movements, he marched an army across the Neapolitan frontiers into the Roman states. The Spaniards spread confusion, destruction, and terror through the whole of the ecclesiastical states: people fled from the city of Rome, expecting another sack, and not doubting that the troops of his most Catholic majesty would prove as bloodthirsty and rapacious as the auxiliaries under the Constable Bourbon: but Paul IV., who had the fierce spirit of a pope of the fourteenth century, would not listen to terms of accommodation; and though one of his nephews, the Cardinal Caraffa, had a conference with the Duke of Alva, they concluded nothing but a truce for forty days. In the mean while, notwithstanding a solemn truce for five years, which still existed between France and Spain, the Duke of Guise had led an army through the passes of the Alps, and was looking forward with bright and not unreasonable hopes to the conquest of Lombardy.* This was the state of affairs in Italy to-

* Giannone, Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli.—Summonte.—De Thou.

wards the end of the year 1556. In the month of March of the present year (1557) King Philip gratified his wife Mary with a short visit, and he entered London in some state, being accompanied by the queen and divers nobles of the realm.* But it was soon seen that his most Catholic majesty had not come for love, the sole object of his visit being to drive Mary and her council into a declaration of war against France. This, however, was not so easy a matter as he had fancied: Cardinal Pole and nearly the whole of the council opposed the measure; and even such of the ministry as were more compliant dreaded the effects of a war with France, which was sure to be accompanied by a war with Scotland, in the present deranged state of the finances and evident ill-humour of the people. But the Spanish interests were served by a strange accident. Among the numerous English refugees in France was one Thomas Stafford, a person of some rank and influence, who entertained the notion of revolutionizing England. With only thirty-two persons he crossed over from France, landed at Scarborough in Yorkshire, and surprised the castle there: but, on the third day they were all made prisoners, without effusion of blood, by the Earl of Westmoreland. Stafford, Richard Saunders, and three or four others, among whom was a Frenchman, were sent up to London, committed to the Tower, and there tortured into a confession that Henry II., the French king, had aided and abetted their enterprise; which was not altogether improbable, as the French court knew what Philip and the Spaniards were doing in London, as well as the devotion of Mary to her husband's interests. Upon the 28th of May Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, and on the morrow three of his companions were drawn to Tyburn and there executed. Richard Saunders, who had probably been a traitor, or had divulged more than the rest, received the queen's pardon. Making the most of what had happened, the queen accused the French court of encouraging many traitorous bands of her subjects,—of giving an asylum to her outlaws, who were maintained in

* Stow.—Holinshed.

France with annual pensions, contrary to treaty,—of sending over to the castle of Scarborough Stafford and others in French ships, provided with armour, munition, and money; and on the 7th of June she made a formal declaration of war,—perhaps the first declaration of the kind thoroughly unpopular with the nation. Having obtained what he wanted, and earnestly recommended the instant raising of troops to act as auxiliaries to his own army on the northern frontiers of France, Philip took his departure on the 6th of July,—and, happily for England, he never returned! It was difficult—most difficult—to do her husband's bidding; but, with great exertions, Mary levied one thousand horse, four thousand foot, and two thousand pioneers, and sent them over to Flanders in the end of July, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Robert Dudley for his master of the ordnance.*

Amidst this din of war the Lady Anne of Cleves died very quietly at Chelsea. She left a good name behind her among the people, and was buried like a princess royal in Westminster Abbey.

Having joined the bands of Flemings, Germans, Italians, Dalmatians, Illyrians, Croats, and others, that formed the army of King Philip, the English marched with this mixed host, under the supreme command of Elizabeth's rejected suitor, the Duke of Savoy, one of the most approved captains of those times; and they soon distinguished themselves by their bravery in a fierce battle under the walls of St. Quintin, where many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners; and such a consternation was spread among the French, that it was thought by many that Philip might have taken Paris had he marched immediately upon it. But Philip was always wary and cautious; nor does he appear ever to have contemplated the doing of much more than the forcing of the Duke of Guise to come out of Italy. He sate down before the town of St. Quintin, which made a gallant resistance for seventeen days,

* Stow.—Holinshed.

during which the French had time to fortify Paris, and to call up troops from the provinces. But an invading army of sixty thousand men was so formidable that they were obliged even to recal the Duke of Guise, and, as Philip had calculated, that general, who had advanced to the frontiers of Naples, hurried back across the Alps. To prolong the campaign in an easy manner, Philip ordered the Spaniards, English, Croats, and the rest, to lay siege to Ham and Cattelet, which places they took, and then, on the approach of winter, they retired into quarters in Flanders.

In fact, the coming of Guise out of Italy, which was so profitable to Philip, was a mortal blow to Mary; for that active commander, after securing the northern frontiers, resolved to sit down before Calais in the depth of winter, and vigorously, and with a large army, commence a siege which, for ages, had been deemed utterly hopeless. Calais, which the English considered as impregnable, and as perfectly secure from an assault during the winter, had generally its garrison reduced at that season; but in the present year, through want of money and the efforts made to serve Philip, that reduction had amounted to two-thirds of the whole force. In the month of November two skilful Italian engineers, Strozzi and Delbene, reconnoitred the town and all the forts adjacent, having gained admittance in disguise. When Philip obtained a hint of the intended project of Guise, he offered to reinforce the garrison of Calais with a body of Spanish troops; but the English council, with a jealousy certainly *not* groundless, declined this offer. But at the same time they were unable to make any ready effort themselves, even when warned of the danger: the English navy had been allowed to go to wrack and ruin:* to victual the remnant of it, to send the troops to

* The whole of the blame is not to be laid to Mary's government. The navy had been much diminished and shamefully neglected during the reign of Edward VI., when all the servants of government, from the highest to the lowest, were addicted to *gaspillage*.

Flanders, the queen had seized all the corn she could find in Norfolk and Suffolk, without paying for it: to meet the expenses of that expedition she had forced the city of London to lend or give her sixty thousand pounds; she had levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she had issued many privy seals to procure loans from people of property; she had, in short, exhausted her means for her husband, and at the moment of crisis she appears to have dreaded calling her parliament together to ask for more money. And thus were the weak garrison and the English citizens and merchants of Calais left to their fate, almost without a single effort being made for their relief.

A.D. 1558.—On New Year's Day Guise entered the English pale; and, sending one part of his army along the downs to Risebank, he, with the other, and an unusually heavy train of artillery, marched towards Nieulay, or Newnham Bridge, and, attacking in force an outwork at the village of St. Agatha, at the head of the causeway, drove the garrison into Newnham, and took possession of that outwork. The English Lord Deputy Wentworth feeling that, from the miserable weakness of the garrison, he could spare no assistance for the defence of the other outworks, ordered them to be evacuated as soon as they should be attacked. This was done at Newnham Bridge, whence the captain retired with his soldiers into Calais; but the outwork of Risebank surrendered with its garrison. Thus, by the third morning of the siege, the Duke of Guise had made himself master of two most important posts, of which one commanded the entrance of the harbour, the other the approach across the marshes from Flanders. The next day, he battered the walls near to the Water-gate, in order to make the English believe that he intended to force an entrance at that point, and cause them "to have the less regard unto the defence of the castle," which was the weakest part of the town, and the place "where the French were ascertained by their espials to win easy entry;" and while the garrison lost time in repairing a false breach made by the

Water-gate, Guise suddenly brought fifteen double cannons to bear upon the castle, which, with astounding negligence on the part of the English government, had been suffered to fall into such decay that it tottered at the first cannon shot, and a wide breach was made in it before evening. When that was done, Guise detached one body to occupy the quay, and another, under Strozzi, to effect a lodgment on the other side of the harbour; but Strozzi was beaten back with loss. About eight in the evening, at ebb-tide, de Grammont was thrown forward with some three hundred harquebusiers to reconnoitre the great breach in the castle. The ditch was broad and deep, but the water was low, having been partially drained off, and the French had brought up by sea a great quantity of hurdles and other materials to facilitate the passage. Upon Grammont's report that the breach seemed to be abandoned, Guise threw himself into the ditch, and forded it, not finding the water much above his girdle: his men followed in great haste—and happy men were they to enter the rotten old castle without resistance. The Lord Wentworth, as the best thing that could be done, had withdrawn the English soldiers, had made a train with certain big barrels of gunpowder, and now anticipated the pleasure of blowing the castle and the Frenchmen into the air together. But this train was badly laid; the French, coming up out of the ditch with their clothes wringing wet, moistened the gunpowder, and saw the attempt to destroy them fail. After passing the night in the castle, Guise sent on his men to the assault of the town, which he fancied would be taken with equal ease; but the marshal, Sir Anthony Agar, with a small body of brave men, repulsed the French and drove them back to the castle. Sir Anthony next tried to drive them from that position, and persevered till he himself, his son and heir, and some fourscore officers and men were laid low in front of the castle-gate. So miserably weak was the garrison, that this small loss of men was decisive. Having in vain expected aid from Dover,—having received no tidings, nor

so much as a sign,—the Lord Deputy on that same night demanded a parley. The French acceded, but would grant none but the harshest terms of capitulation.*

"About two of the clock next day at afternoon, being the 7th of January, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to pass out of the town in safety, being guarded through the army with a number of Scottish light horsemen, who used the English very well and friendly; and after this, every day for the space of three or four days together, there were sent away divers companies of them till all were avoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserved for prisoners, as the Lord Wentworth and others. There were in the town of Calais 500 English soldiers ordinary, and no more: and of the townsmen not fully 200 fighting men (a small garrison for the defence of such a town), and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) 4200 persons."†

Thus was lost, in six days, the town of Calais, which had cost Edward III. an obstinate siege of more than eleven months, and which the English had kept through all the varieties of their fortune for 211 years.

The grief of the English court, and the vexation of the people, were as great as the joy and triumph of the French. Yet, except as a humiliation to military fame, and as a blow to national pride, the loss was not so serious. Calais, indeed, had been reckoned as "one of the eyes of England," but it was an eye constantly in pain and peril, costing immense sums for its care and cure; and it was soon seen that England could see very well without it. The people, however, long murmured and lamented, and the government was disgraced and depressed in the extreme by this result of a war which they had engaged in without justice or reason. At the same time the Scots, acting on the usual impulse from France, began to stir upon the borders. After the peace, which we have mentioned in the preceding reign, the

* Holinshed. † Ibid.

Queen-dowager Mary of Guise made a journey to France, carrying with her many of the principal Scottish nobility. She visited her daughter Mary and her relations, and arranged a grand political plan, by which, on her return, though not without difficulty, the Earl of Arran was induced to resign the whole government of the kingdom into her hands.* On the 12th of April, 1554, she assumed the name of Regent. In this capacity she acted chiefly under the guidance of d'Oisel, a Frenchman of great ability. Her government, upon the whole, was judicious and beneficial to Scotland; it would have been more so had the Regent not been obliged to make sacrifices to the politics, religion, and interests of her family and friends in France. When Mary declared war in the preceding year, the French court required the Queen-Regent of Scotland to make a diversion in their favour. She summoned a convention at Newbottle, and requested the states to concur in a declaration of hostilities against England; but the Scottish nobles, in part from a jealousy of the French, in part from their conviction that the war would be unprofitable, refused their assent. Upon this, she ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth. As this was upon ground mentioned in the last treaty with Edward, part of the garrison of Berwick made an inroad to prevent the erection of the works. This proceeding, as she had calculated, exasperated the Scottish people, who anon retaliated in their own fashion by making forays into England, without waiting or caring for any declaration or orders from the government. But when d'Oisel, in person, undertook the siege of the castle of Wark, the council prevented him, and not only recalled him, but gave him a sharp rebuke.

After the French king had visited Calais he made great haste for the accomplishment of the marriage between Francis his eldest son, called the Dauphin,

* Arran had been gratified with French pensions, with the high-sounding title of Duke of Chatelherault, and with a public acknowledgment of his right as next heir (after the young Mary) to the Scottish throne.

and Mary Stuart, daughter and sole heir of James V., late king of Scotland. The great political importance of this match will be developed in the following reign. For the present it will suffice to state that Mary Queen of Scots, in the sixteenth year of her age, was united to a sickly, silly boy, a few months younger than herself, and that the memorable marriage was solemnized in the city of Paris on the 24th day of April (1558). Before this great event, but at a time when it was known it would take place, and when the nation was smarting with the pang of the recent loss and disgrace at Calais, Queen Mary summoned a parliament that she might implore for more money. This parliament met, and the members being evidently excited by a passionate desire to recover Calais, or to vindicate the honour of the national arms by giving some notable defeat to the French, without making any reflections on the arbitrary methods recently resorted to by the queen for the raising of money, they proceeded to vote her a fifteenth, a subsidy of 4*s.* in the pound on land, and 2*s.* 8*d.* on goods, to be paid in four years, by equal instalments. From this liberal parliament the queen turned to the clergy, who readily granted her 8*s.* in the pound, to be paid in the like manner in four years. With the money thus raised, Mary hired a number of ships, and despatched a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail of all sizes, but chiefly small, under the High Admiral, Edward Lord Clinton, who was ordered to join King Philip's squadron, and while the French king should be engaged in the field with the Spanish army and their auxiliaries, to lay waste his coast and surprise some of his towns: Brest in particular. But the expedition was badly managed: instead of making at once for Brest, Clinton and the Flemish admiral lay to, near the little town of Conquet, where one morning at break of day they sounded their trumpets, "as the manner was," and, "with a thundering peal of great guns," awoke the poor inhabitants. They landed with little or no opposition, and, mastering the town, "put it to the sackage, with a great abbey and many pretty towns and villages thereabouts, where our

men found great store of pillage and good booties."* After this inglorious exploit they marched some way up the country, burning more villages and houses; and then the English retreated to the sea-side, where their ships lay ready to receive them; but their allies, the Flemings, being more covetous of spoil, or less cautious, passed farther into the interior, and being encountered by the power of the country, lost four or five hundred men before they could regain their ships. Notwithstanding Clinton's having with him a considerable land force under the command of the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, he was alarmed at the reports of the forces collecting or collected in Bretagne, under the Duke of Estampes, and thought it best not to attempt any assault against the town of Brest, or to make longer stay thereabouts.† A small squadron of ten English ships performed more honourable service. The Marshal de Termes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders with an army of nine thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. He easily forced a passage across the river Aar, or Aire, to Dunkirk, burned that town to the ground, and scoured and desolated the whole country almost as far as Newport; but there he was suddenly checked by Count Egmont. Apparently through the superior marching of the Spanish infantry, Egmont got to Gravelines before de Termes, and threw a part of his army between the French and the town of Calais, their only sure place of retreat. A general battle was thus inevitable, and to fight it the French general chose his ground very skilfully on the sea-coast, near to Gravelines. He fortified his left wing, and brought his right flank to the bank of the river Aar, close to its mouth. When the Spaniards began cannonading, the ten English ships which happened to be on that part of the coast, attracted by the sound of battle, sailed up the river, opened a tremendous fire upon the right flank of the French, and contributed materially to one of the most decisive victories gained during these wars. The

* Holinshed. † Id.

Marshal de Termes, Villebon, and many other distinguished Frenchmen were taken prisoners. Not a few of the men ran into the sea and perished there. Only a few half-naked fugitives escaped both death and captivity.*

But a greater piece of good fortune for England was approaching than would have been the recapture of Calais and fifty such victories as that of Gravelines. About the beginning of September the queen fell sick of a prevalent disorder, vaguely called a cold and hot burning fever, which appears to have been nothing more than a bad sort of ague. Our chroniclers tell us that the disease—whatever it was—was fatal only to persons in advanced life: but Mary had long been prematurely old, and when she was attacked, her heart was bruised and broken. She removed from her favourite residence of Hampton Court to Westminster, where she lay "languishing of a long sickness until the 17th of November, when, between the hours of five and six in the morning, she ended her life in this world at her house at St. James's," having reigned five years, four months, and eleven days, and lived a wretched life of forty-three years and nine months.†

Within twenty-two hours of the queen's death her friend and kinsman Reginald Pole, Cardinal Legate, and Archbishop of Canterbury, expired at Lambeth;‡ his death being a much surer injury—a more fatal blow to the Catholic church in England—than that of Mary, whose fierce bigotry advanced, perhaps, more than anything the cause of the reformation.§

It has been the fashion with Protestant writers not to allow this unhappy woman a single virtue; and yet, in truth, Mary had many good and generous qualities. She was generally sincere and high-minded, and shrunk from that trickery and treachery in state matters which her

* Holinshed.—Grafton. † Godwin.

‡ Some Catholic writers—among whom is Osorius—have not hesitated to say, or to hint a suspicion, that both Mary and the cardinal were poisoned by the Protestant party!

§ Hallam. Const. Hist. Eng.

more fortunate sister Elizabeth adopted without hesitation as a general rule of conduct. Notwithstanding her sad experience of the world, and the depressing influences of ill-health, she was capable of warm and lasting friendships: as a mistress she was not only liberal, but kind and attentive, even towards the meanest servant of her household; she was charitable to the poor, and most considerate for the afflicted; she was the first to suggest the foundation of an establishment, like Chelsea Hospital, for the reception of invalid soldiers, and in her will she appropriated certain funds to this national object.* Like all the rest of her testamentary bequests, this was utterly neglected by her successor, notwithstanding the dying queen's earnest entreaties that she would suffer the intention of her will to be carried into effect.

Nor was Mary deficient in acquirements and accomplishments. As well as her junior half-sister she had received what may be called a learned education; she had some acquaintance with Greek, and not only read but also wrote Latin, and her letters in that language were praised by Erasmus. Among her accomplishments are enumerated embroidering, dancing, and music. She played three instruments,—the virginals, regals, and lute.†

In most matters her taste was more delicate and better than that of Elizabeth, and though she had less personal dignity, and cared not "to go slowly and to march with leisure and with a certain grandytie," as her half-sister always did when in public, she never gave way to violent gesticulation and the swearing of gross oaths, which her successor was almost as much addicted to as her father Henry. But as a queen all these qualities and accom-

* See her will as published by Sir Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, &c.*

† The Venetian ambassador praises her great skill in playing on the lute, "so that, when she attended to it, for now she pays little attention to those things, she astonished good professors both by her rapidity of hand and her style of playing." The Italian was likely to be a good judge of music, but it should appear that *he* had not been in the habit of hearing the queen play with his own ears.

plishments (abilities of a high order she had none) were of the slightest value, and their insignificance is shown in the records of her miserable reign, and the boundless triumph over all of her master-passion.*

* Dr. Lingard's defence of Queen Mary will not stand for a moment the examination of an impartial eye. He would make Mary appear not only as the best of women but as a good sovereign. Sir Frederick Madden, to whose researches we have been indebted, has collected the best proofs of Mary's possessing some amiable qualities, which none but bigots on the other side will attempt to deny; but in removing some prejudices he seems to contract others, and almost to fall in love with his subject. He carries most of his arguments too far, relying occasionally on the most doubtful kind of evidence, giving an interpretation at other times to words and things which they will scarcely bear, and now and then drawing conclusions directly contrary to what the premises would justify. Hume, knowing that Mary suffered a wretched state of health, and having other good evidence to go upon, described her as being of a sour and sullen disposition. This, says Sir Frederick Madden, is an inaccuracy notorious to those at all acquainted with the history of the period; and to support his opinion he mentions that Mary was once seen to laugh heartily at a tumbler at Greenwich,—that she kept in her service a female jester (every king at the time kept a fool royal),—that she once had a kennel of hounds,—that she was fond of music, played at cards, allowed valentines to be drawn in her household, and once lost a breakfast wagered on a game at bowls. But the accuser of Hume admits (and gives, from the plain spoken Venetian, the *broadest* account of her malady) that Mary, from the age of puberty, had suffered the most distressing of all female disorders. Ill-usage and ill-health were not likely to produce the best of tempers. But though Sir Frederick Madden may have known cheerful and light-hearted valetudinarians, we much question whether he ever knew a cheerful bigot. The disorders of body and of mind must have made Mary what Hume described her to be on her accession. In the minutiæ of the "Privy Purse Expenses" and incidental occurrences of court holidays, Sir Frederick Madden forgets Smithfield and the fires that blazed in all parts of the kingdom during this *cheerful* reign

Elizabeth.

A.D. 1558.—At the time of Mary's demise the parliament was sitting. Her death was concealed from the public for some hours; but, before noon, Heath, archbishop of York, who had been lord chancellor since Gardiner's decease, went down to the House of Lords, and sent immediately to the speaker of the Commons, desiring him, with the knights and burgesses, to repair without delay to the Upper House, in order to give their assent in a case of great importance. Heath then announced in due form that God had called to his mercy the late sovereign lady Queen Mary,—a heavy and grievous woe, but relieved by the blessing God had left them in a true, loyal, and right inheritress to the crown, —the Lady Elizabeth, second daughter to the late sovereign lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII., and sister unto the said late queen. Not a challenge was raised to her title: the Lady Elizabeth was acknowledged in both Houses, which resounded with the shouts of "God save Queen Elizabeth, and long and happy may she reign!" and in the course of the day she was proclaimed amidst lively demonstrations of popular joy. The bells of all the churches were set ringing; tables were spread in the streets, "where was plentiful eating, drinking, and making merry;" and at night bonfires were lit in all directions, and the skies were reddened by flames which had *not* consumed human victims.* Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she received the news of her easy accession. She fell upon her knees, exclaiming, in Latin, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."† On the following day several noblemen of the

* Stow.—Holinshed.—Burnet.

† *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile oculis nostris.* These words were afterwards stamped on her gold coin, a motto she chose for her silver coin being *Posui Deum adjutorem meum* (I have chosen God for my helper).

late queen's council repaired to her: she gave them a kind reception, but presently showed her decided preference for Sir William Cecil,—the astute, the most politic Cecil, — whom she instantly appointed principal secretary of state. On the 23rd of November the queen removed from Hatfield, with a joyous escort of more than a thousand persons. At Highgate she was met by the bishops, who, kneeling, acknowledged their allegiance: she received them very graciously, giving to every one of them her hand to kiss with the exception of Bishop Bonner. At the foot of Highgate Hill she was very dutifully and honourably met by the lord mayor and whole estate of London, and so conducted to the Charter House, then occupied as a town residence by her friend Lord North. On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th, she entered into the city at Cripplegate, "and rode in state along by the Wall to the Tower:" here she remained till Monday, the 5th of December, when she removed by water to Somerset House. The ambiguity of her conduct with regard to religion had been well studied; and it appears quite certain that her compliances in the former reign had deceived many into a notion that she was really the good Catholic she professed herself to be; otherwise it is difficult to understand the unanimity of the Lords, for the majority of the Upper House were Catholics, and both the bishops and the lay peers would have been disposed to resist her claim if they had expected that she would venture to disturb the established order of things. The mistake was confirmed by her retaining in her privy council no fewer than thirteen known and sincere Catholics who had been members of that of her sister, and the seven new counsellors she appointed, though probably known to herself to be zealous Protestants, did not bear that character with the rest of the world; for one and all of them, like her favourite minister Cecil, had shrunk under the fiery bigotry of Mary, and had conformed to the Roman church. Even decency demanded some little time, but policy required more; and we feel convinced that if it had not been established beyond the reach of a doubt

that the Catholics had lost ground immensely, and were no longer the majority of the nation, Elizabeth, who was never in her heart a thorough Protestant—who scarcely went farther with the Reformers than her father had done—would have left the Roman church undisturbed. She was too cool and calculating for a zealot; and even the fate of her mother, and the circumstances of her own birth, failed to excite her. In fact, Elizabeth seems to have adopted, at the beginning of her reign, the maxim recommended by the most crafty of then living politicians, —that the Protestants should be kept in hope, the Papists not cast into despair.* Her real intentions were kept a profound secret from the majority of her council; and her measures of change and reform were concerted only with Cecil and one or two others, who appear to have been most thoroughly aware of the fact that the Protestant party had become infinitely stronger than the Catholic. On the 13th of December the body of Mary was very royally interred in Westminster Abbey, with all the solemn funeral rites used by the Roman church, and a mass of requiem; and on the 24th day of the same month a grand funeral service for the late Emperor Charles V. was celebrated in the same place and in the same manner, with a great attendance of Catholic priests, English and foreign, and of noble lords and ladies of the realm. And yet, if we are to believe a letter written at the time, Elizabeth, on the very day after these obsequies, refused to hear mass in her own house.

On the 12th of January the queen took her barge, and went down the river, being attended by the lord mayor and citizens, and greeted with peals of ordnance, with music, and many triumphant shows on the water. She landed at the Tower; but, this time, it was not as a criminal, at the traitor's gate, but as a triumphant queen preparing for her coronation. Upon the morrow there was a creation of peers: it was not numerous, but Henry Carey, brother to Lady Knowles, and son to Mary Boleyn, her majesty's aunt, was included in it under the title of Lord Hunsdon. On the morrow, being the 14th

* Sir Ralph Sadler.

of January, 1559, the queen rode with great majesty out of the Tower. The lord mayor and citizens had been lavish of their loyalty and their money; the artists had exhausted their ingenuity and invention; and all the streets through which the procession passed on its way to Westminster were furnished with stately pageants, sumptuous shows, and cunning devices. The figures of the queen's grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, were brought upon the stage, and Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, with a glorious forgetfulness of the past, were seen walking lovingly together. Prophecies and Latin verses were prodigally expended on the queen; nor was there a parsimony of English verse or rhyme. In another pageant Time led forth his daughter Truth, and Truth, greeting her majesty, presented to her an English Bible. In the last pageant of all there stood "a seemly and meek personage, richly apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, over whose head was written 'Deborah, the judge and restorer over the House of Israel.'" Gog and Magog, deserting their posts in Guildhall, stood to honour the queen, one on each side of Temple-Bar, supporting a wondrous tablet of Latin verse, which expounded to her majesty the hidden sense of all the pageants in the city.* Her behaviour during the whole day was popular in the extreme; and from the beginning to the end of her reign she possessed the art of delighting the people, when she thought necessary, with little condescensions, smiles, and cheerful words. On the following day, being Sunday, the 15th of January, Elizabeth was crowned in Westminster Abbey by Dr. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards she dined in Westminster Hall. The ceremony of the coronation was regulated strictly in the ancient manner of the most Catholic times, but there was one remarkable circumstance attending it. Either from a suspicion of the course she intended to pursue, or from a somewhat tardy recollection that, by the laws of the Roman church, Elizabeth was not legitimate, or in con-

* Holinshed.—Stow.

sequence of orders received from Rome since the death of Mary and their congratulatory visit to Elizabeth at Highgate, every one of the bishops, with the exception of Oglethorpe, refused to perform the coronation service. From whatever cause it might proceed, this refractoriness of the bishops was a great political mistake on the part of the Catholics.*

On the very day after her coronation the Protestants pressed her for a declaration of her intentions as to religion. They must have felt alarmed at the Popish celebrations in the Abbey; but it was some time before the cautious queen would in any way commit herself. Before this application, however, Elizabeth had taken the important step of authorising the reading of the Liturgy in English, and had shown at least a fixed determination to prevent the Catholics from re-lighting the fires at Smithfield. Yet, at the same time, to the scandal of all Protestants, she forbade the destruction of images, kept her crucifix and holy water in her private chapel, and strictly prohibited preaching on controversial points generally, and all preaching whatsoever at Paul's Cross, where, be it said, neither sect had been in the habit of preaching peace and good-will toward men. There was an additional cause for the queen's slowness and circumspection. Upon the death of her sister the English exiles for religious opinions flocked back to their country with a zeal sharpened by persecution. Of these men many would have carried the Reformation wholly into the path of Calvin and Zuinglius, being disposed, after their theological studies in Switzerland, to dissent widely from the Anglican church as established in the reign of Edward VI.; and, what was not of less importance, some of them thought that the republican system, which they had seen to suit the little cantons among the Alps, would be a

* Even the Bishop of Carlisle reluctantly consented to put the crown on her head. At her coronation, Elizabeth, of course, partook of the mass; but it appears from one account that she had forbidden the elevation of the host, and that this was probably the cause of the bishops refusing to crown her. By the laws of the Roman church it was cause enough.

preferable form of government for England, and they were well furnished with texts of Scripture to prove the uselessness and wickedness of royalty. In a moment of indecision the queen had directed Sir Edward Carne, her sister's ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the Pope; and the Protestants must have been delighted and re-assured when Paul IV. hastily replied that he looked upon her as illegitimate, and that she ought therefore to lay down the government, and expect what he might decide.

Ten days after the coronation (on the 25th of January) Elizabeth met her first parliament, with a wise resolution of leaving them to settle the religion of the state, merely giving out, through the able Cecil, and the scarcely less able Sir Nicholas Bacon, now keeper of the seals, what were her real wishes. Lords and Commons showed a wonderfully eager desire to adapt themselves to precisely such a church regimen as she in her wisdom might propose. They enacted that the first-fruits and tenths should be restored to the crown,—that the queen, notwithstanding her sex,* should, in right of her legitimacy, be supreme head of the church,—that the laws made concerning religion in Edward's time should be re-established in full force,—that his Book of Common Prayer in the mother-tongue should be restored and used to the exclusion of all others in all places of worship. The act of supremacy, though the most ridiculous or the most horrible of all to the Catholics on the continent, met with no opposition whatever; but nine temporal peers and the whole bench of bishops protested in the Lords against the bill of uniformity, establishing the Anglican Liturgy, notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to qualify it, and to soften certain passages most offensive to Catholic ears. A rubric directed against the doctrine of the real presence was omitted, to the avoidance of the long-standing and bitter controversies on this head.†

* The ambassador of a Catholic court wrote, with a ludicrous horror, that he had seen the supreme head of the English church—*dancing!*

† Burnet.—Strype.—Blunt.

One of the first measures taken up by Queen Mary had been to vindicate the fame of her mother Catherine of Arragon and her own legitimacy; and it was expected that Elizabeth, if only out of filial reverence, would pursue the same course for *her* mother, Anne Boleyn, who, as the law stood, had never been a lawful wife; but she carefully avoided all discussion on this point, and satisfied herself with an act declaratory, in general terms, of her right of succession to the throne, in which act all the bishops agreed.

Acts were passed empowering the queen upon the avoidance of any bishopric to exchange her tenths and parsonages appropriate within the diocese for an equivalent portion of the landed estates belonging to the see. But the more active of the Protestants were checked and disappointed when they brought a bill into the Commons for the restoration to their sees of Bishops Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; another, for the revival of former statutes, passed in the reign of Edward VI., authorising the crown to nominate a commission for drawing up a complete body of Church of England canon law; and a third for the restoration of all such clergymen as had been deprived for marriage during the late reign. The last bill was given up by command of Elizabeth herself, who was not Protestant enough to overcome a prejudice against married priests, and who, to the end of her days, could never reconcile herself to married bishops.* The two other bills also failed, for the bishops whom it was proposed to restore were married men; and as for the commission for a canonical code, Elizabeth entertained a salutary dread of the zealots.

It was not possible altogether to avoid recrimination. Nor did the Catholics—now the weaker party—on all occasions submit in silence to such castigation. Dr. Story, who had acted as royal proctor in the proceedings against Cranmer, and who had given other proofs of his zeal and

* Harrington, in his 'Brief View,' says, "Cæteris paribus, and sometimes imparibus too, she preferred the single man before the married."

intolerance, had the boldness to lament that he and others had not been more vehement in executing the laws against heresy. "It was my counsel," said this doughty priest, "that heretics of eminence should be plucked down as well as the ordinary sort, nor do I see anything in all those affairs which ought to make me feel shame or sorrow. My sole grief, indeed, is, that we laboured only about the little twigs: we should have struck at the roots." It was understood that he meant hereby—what, indeed, had been proposed by several—that Elizabeth should have been removed out of the way while her sister lived. Soon after delivering this speech Dr. Story escaped out of the kingdom, and fixed himself at Antwerp under the protection of the Spaniards. There he ought to have been left, particularly as his notions were every day becoming less dangerous; but Elizabeth caused him to be kidnapped, to be brought over to England by stratagem, and executed as a traitor—a proceeding as base as that of her sister Mary with regard to that zealous Protestant refugee Sir John Cheke. Bishop Bonner, notwithstanding the unequivocal marks of the queen's displeasure, attended at his post in parliament, and even presented to the Lord Keeper Bacon certain articles drawn up by the convocation, and endeavoured, in part by ingenious compromises, in part by more open proceedings, to limit the authority of the queen, and maintain that of the pope, in matters of faith and ecclesiastical discipline. Bacon received the said articles courteously, but no further notice was taken of them, and the convocation, after a series of adjournments, separated in dismay.* The way in which the parliament had recognised her title was highly satisfactory to Elizabeth; but they were less fortunate in their treatment of another high question. In the course of this session a deputation was sent to her majesty by the Commons with an address, "the principal matter whereof most specially was to move her grace to marriage, whereby to all their comforts they might enjoy the royal issue of her body to

* Holinshed.—Strype.—Burnet.

reign over them." Elizabeth received the deputation in the great gallery of her palace at Westminster, called the Whitehall; and when the Speaker of the House of Commons had solemnly and eloquently set forth the message, she delivered a remarkable answer—the first of her many public declarations of her intention to live and die a virgin queen:—"From my years of understanding, knowing myself a servitor of Almighty God, I chose this kind of life, in which I do yet live, as a life most acceptable unto him, wherein I thought I could best serve him, and with most quietness do my duty unto him. From which my choice, if either ambition of high estate offered unto me by marriages (whereof I have records in this presence), the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the peril of death (whose messenger, the prince's indignation, was no little time continually present before mine eyes, by whose means if I knew, or do justly suspect, I will not now utter them; or, if the whole cause were my sister herself, I will not now charge the dead), could have drawn or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgin's estate wherein you see me. But so constant have I always continued in this my determination that (although my words and youth may seem to some hardly to agree together), yet it is true that to this day I stand free from any other meaning that either I have had in times past or have at this present. In which state and trade of living wherewith I am so thoroughly acquainted God hath so hitherto preserved me, and hath so watchful an eye upon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone." After these somewhat roundabout, ambiguous, and ascetic expressions—which were anti-Protestant, inasmuch as they showed a preference for a single life—she gave the Commons a foretaste of that absolute and imperative tone which she soon adopted:—"The manner of your petition," said she, "I do like, and take in good part, for it is simple and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had been otherwise I must have misliked it very much and thought it in you a very great

presumption, being unfit and altogether unmeet to require them that may command." In still plainer terms she told them that it was their duty to obey, and not to take upon themselves to bind and limit her in her proceedings, or even to press their advice upon her. As if doubting whether the Commons would rely on her determination of never marrying, she assured them that at all events she would never choose a husband but one who should be as careful for the realm and their safety as she herself was; and she made an end of a very long speech by saying,—"And for me it shall be sufficient that a marble stone declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."*

At this moment Elizabeth had received one matrimonial proposal, the strangest of the many that were made to her! When she announced to King Philip the death of his wife and her own accession, that monarch, regardless of canonical laws, made her an instant offer of his own hand; for, so long as he could obtain a hold upon England, he cared little whether it was through a Mary or an Elizabeth. With a duplicity which was the general rule of her conduct she gave Philip a certain degree of hope, for she was very anxious to recover Calais through his means, and England was still involved in a war both with France and Scotland on his account. It would besides have been dangerous to give the Spaniard any serious offence at this moment.

On the 8th of May Elizabeth's first parliament was dissolved, and, on the 15th of the same month, the bishops, deans, and other churchmen of note, were summoned before the queen and her privy council, and there admonished to make themselves and their dependants conformable to the statutes which had just been enacted. Archbishop Heath replied by reminding her majesty of her sister's recent reconciliation with Rome, and of *her own promise not to change the religion which she found by law established*; and he told her that his conscience would not suffer him to obey her present commands. All

* Holinshed.

the bishops took precisely the same course as Heath; and the government, which evidently had expected to win over the majority of them, was startled at their unanimous opposition. To terrify them into compliance, certain papers, which had been sealed up in the royal closet at the death of the late queen, were produced by advice of the Earl of Sussex; and these documents, which had lain dormant during two short reigns, were found, or were made, to contain proofs that Heath, Bonner, and Gardiner, during the protectorate of Somerset, had carried on secret intrigues with Rome, with the view of overthrowing the English government of that time. But the bishops, feeling themselves screened by two general pardons from the crown, continued as firm as ever; and the council wisely determined that these papers could not fairly be acted upon, and resolved to proceed merely upon the oath of supremacy, which they saw the prelates were determined to refuse at all costs. It appears that this oath was first offered to Bonner on the 30th of May. Bonner refused to swear, upon which proceedings were instituted to deprive him of his bishopric. In the course of a few months the oath was tendered to the rest, and they all refused it most decidedly, with the single exception of Kitchen, bishop of Llandaff, who had held that see since 1545, through all changes, and who was determined to keep it.* A considerable number of subordinate church dignitaries were also deprived by means of this test; but the great body of the clergy complied when, in the course of the summer, the queen

* Kitchen, who was originally a Benedictine monk, always believed or professed according to the last act of parliament, which meant the last enunciation of the royal will. In the time of Henry VIII., when he received the see, he professed the mitigated Romanism held by that monarch; in the time of Edward VI. he became a complete Protestant; and when Mary came to the crown he turned back to the point from which he had originally started, and became once more a thorough Papist. Now he turned Protestant again, and was allowed to keep the bishopric of Llandaff to the year 563, when he died.—*Soames.*

appointed a general visitation to compel the observance of the new Protestant formularies. Before the end of 1559 the English church, so long contended for, was lost for ever to the Papists.* In the course of the same year the two statutes, commonly denominated the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were converted into the firm basis of that restrictive code of laws which, for more than two centuries, pressed so heavily upon the adherents to the Roman church.

The second statute trenched more on the natural rights of conscience; it prohibited, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and imprisonment for life for the third, the using of any but the established liturgy of the church of England; and it moreover imposed a fine of 1*s.* on every one that should absent himself from the only true Protestant church on Sunday and holidays.† By this act the Catholic rites, however privately celebrated, were interdicted. In some respects, where it was not deemed expedient to irritate persons of very high rank, the government connived at the secret or domestic exercise of the Roman religion; but such cases were rare even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; and the restored Protestant clergy, who had learned no toleration from their own sufferings, propelled the agents of government into the paths of persecution. As early as 1561, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady were sent to the Tower for hearing mass and keeping a Popish priest in their house. Many others were punished for the same offence about the same time. The penalty for causing mass to be said was only a hundred marks for the first offence, but these cases seem to have been referred to the

* Burnet.—Strype.—Soames.—Blunt.—Hallam. It appears from the report of the ecclesiastical visitors that only about one hundred dignitaries and eighty parish priests resigned their benefices or were deprived of them at this great period of change. But in the course of a few years many others resigned or were driven from their posts as much by the people as by the government.

† Stat. 1st Eliz. c. 2.

Protestant high commission court, and the arbitrary Star Chamber, whose violence, however illegal, was not often checked. About a year after the committal of Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady, two zealous Protestant bishops wrote to the council to inform them that a priest had been apprehended in a lady's house, and that neither he nor the servants would be sworn to answer to articles, saying that they would not accuse themselves. After which these Protestant prelates add,—"*Some do think that if this priest might be put to some kind of torment, and so driven to confess what he knoweth, he might gain the queen's majesty a good mass of money by the masses that he hath said; but this we refer to your lordship's wisdom.*"* It is dishonest to deny so obvious a fact, nor can the denial now serve any purpose: it was this commencement of persecution that drove many English Catholics beyond the seas, and gave rise to those associations of unhappy and desperate exiles which continued to menace the throne of Elizabeth even down to the last years of her long reign. In the same year, 1559, which saw the enforcing of the statutes of supremacy and uniformity, the queen published certain *injunctions* after the manner of those of her brother, and, for the better part, expressed in the very same words as those of Edward, twelve years before. There was, however, a greater decency of language in several of the clauses, and the church of Rome was treated with more courtesy than in Edward's time. According to Edward's commands, images, shrines, pictures, and the like, were to be destroyed, nor was any memory of the same to be left in walls and glass windows. Elizabeth enjoined that "the walls and glass windows shall be nevertheless preserved."

Meanwhile the monastic establishments were universally broken up; three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the continent;

* Burleigh, State Papers. We regret to say that one of these two bishops was the learned Grindal, bishop of London, who had been an exile for conscience' sake in the time of Mary.

many of the dispossessed clergy were conveyed to Spain in the retinue of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, and the deprived bishops were committed to safe keeping in England. The number of these prelates was not so considerable as might have been supposed. Through various circumstances, but chiefly by deaths (for the recent epidemic had been very fatal to elderly persons), there were many vacancies at Elizabeth's accession, so that (Kitchen, of Llandaff, as already mentioned, being allowed to retain his see) all the bishops that she had to deprive were, fourteen in actual possession, and three bishops elect. For some time after their deprivation these prelates were left to themselves and their poverty; but on the 4th of December (1559) Heath, Bonner, Bourn, Tuberville, and Poole imprudently drew upon themselves the queen's attention by presenting a petition, in which, after praising her virtuous sister, Queen Mary of happy memory, who, being troubled in conscience with what her father's and brother's advisers had caused them to do, had most piously restored the Catholic faith, and extinguished those schisms and heresies for which God had poured out his wrath upon most of the malefactors and misleaders of the nation; they called upon the queen to follow her example without loss of time, and concluded by praying that God would turn her heart and preserve her life, and also make her evil advisers ashamed and repentant of their heresies.* Elizabeth replied, in great wrath, that these very memorialists, or at least Heath, Bonner, and Tuberville, with their former friend, "their *great* Stephen Gardiner," had advised and flattered her father in all that he did; and shortly after the deprived bishops were committed to prison. Bonner, the worst of them, was conveyed to the Marshalsea on the 20th of April, 1560, where he was kept for more than nine long years, when he was liberated by death, on the 5th of September, 1569. After passing different periods in the Tower and other prisons, all of them, with the exception of Bonner, were quartered by

* Strype.

government, apparently from motives of economy, upon the Protestant bishops who had succeeded them, or upon rich deans or other dignified churchmen—an arrangement which could not have been very agreeable either to hosts or guests.

The settlement of the national religion had cost Elizabeth and her council much more time and trouble than the adjustment of the difficulties in the foreign relations of the country. After a little negotiation, England was included in a general treaty of peace signed at Cateau Cambresis on the 2nd of April, 1559, within six months after her accession. The only impediment had been in Elizabeth's earnest desire to recover possession of Calais, but, by the advice of Cecil, she wisely consented to a clause in the treaty which saved her honour, though it could not have led her to believe that any king of France would ever have either the will or the power to fulfil it. It was agreed that Calais should be retained by the French king for eight years, and that at the end of that period it should be delivered to the English queen or her successor, upon certain conditions.* Scotland, as the ally of France, was included in the treaty of Cateau Cambresis. Philip of Spain did not, for the present, conceive or show any serious displeasure at Elizabeth's declining the honour of his hand: he soon after took to wife the daughter of Henry II. King of France, who had been affianced to his own son, Don Carlos, and he warmly recommended to Elizabeth, as a husband in every way suitable, his own cousin, the Archduke Charles of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand.

According to every canonical law of the Roman church, according to the notions of nearly every Catholic in England, the claim of Mary Stuart to the English succession was far preferable to that of her cousin Elizabeth. The Guises represented that Anne Boleyn's marriage had never been lawful—that it had been pronounced null and void by a sentence of the church—that the attainder of Elizabeth's blood had never been reversed even by

* Rymer.

her own parliament, and that Mary of Scotland, though passed by in the will of Henry VIII., and overlooked by the English nation, was, by right of descent and purity of birth, indisputably entitled to the throne. In a fatal moment for Mary, she and her husband quartered the royal arms of England with their own, and even assumed the style of King and Queen of Scotland and England. But Elizabeth did not wait for this provocation to a most deadly quarrel. She resolved to anticipate events — to undermine the authority of Mary in the neighbouring kingdom, so as to leave her neither a Scottish nor an English throne; and this plan was acted upon through a long series of years with consummate and wonderful art. But the condition of Scotland served Elizabeth better than all the skill of her statesmen and diplomatists, great as it was. That country was rent by factions and religious controversies, more fierce, more determined than ever. Mary's mother, the queen-regent, like the whole family of the Guises, was devotedly attached to the church of Rome, and, as a Frenchwoman —as a mother—she was naturally the enemy of the Scottish reformers, who had all along leaned to England, and who had even made desperate attempts to deprive her infant daughter of her crown. The reformers, led on by their preachers, set all law and order at defiance, and in the face of day pillaged monasteries, burnt churches, and committed other excesses. The Catholics still cried for the stake and fagot against these sacrilegious miscreants. Mary of Guise, the queen-regent, invited or summoned all the reformed clergy to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, 1559, to give an account of their conduct. These reformers went to the place appointed, but so well attended with armed friends and partisans, that they looked more like the leaders of an army than the preachers of the gospel. The result of this meeting was, that the queen-regent, in the presence of their superior force, pledged her word that no proceedings should be instituted for deeds that were past, provided only they would remain peaceable for the future. According to the reformers, they had scarcely dispersed when she, without

any new stir or provocation on their part, caused them to be proceeded against in their absence. But it must be observed that many of the reformers were men of the most ardent zeal, who considered the remaining quiet under the rule and dominion of papists as an abominable connivance with Satan. Among these must certainly be included the famous John Knox, the very head and front of the Calvinistic reformation in Scotland—the pupil and bosom friend of Wishart, who had perished at the stake in Cardinal Beaton's time. On the 11th of May, the very day after the meeting at Stirling, John Knox preached in Perth with his usual vehemence against the mass, idolatrous worship, and the adoration of saints and images. When a priest proceeded to say mass as usual, a young man called this act idolatry—he received a blow—he retaliated by throwing stones at the priest, and damaged a church picture. The iconoclastic fury spread like flames running over gunpowder—pictures, statues, marble fonts were broken to pieces, wherever they could be reached—" temple and tower went to the ground" with hideous crash. The reformers of England had rested satisfied with the destruction of the ornaments and accessories, and had, generally, left the walls of the abbeys untouched ; but the zeal of the Scots was far more furious,—they wished not to leave one stone upon another, and it was a maxim with John Knox that the best way of preventing the crows from ever returning was to destroy their nests. The queen-regent had no means of checking this barbarous spirit of destruction. John Knox, by a single blast of his spiritual trumpet, assembled an irregular but a numerous army ; and now the churches and monasteries which had escaped before fell almost as suddenly as the walls of Jericho at the trumpet of Joshua. Of late nearly the whole body of the Scottish nobility had fallen off from the queen-regent and enrolled themselves under the banner of Knox, who, after all, was the real chief and leader of this holy war. Many of the lords acted from a conscientious dislike of the old superstitions ; but there were few of them whose zeal for the gospel light was not allied with a greed after worldly lucre : and as

for toleration, when it was not found in England, it could scarcely be looked for in Scotland. They marched with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. Matters were made much worse when the queen-regent brought in fresh troops from France to support her insulted and tottering government. The undisciplined rabble, however, who had not made up their minds to die martyrs, submitted in the towns and places where these disciplined troops were stationed, and the Protestant chiefs were fain to conclude another treaty, and to content themselves with toleration and freedom of conscience without insisting upon the immediate and total suppression of papistry; but this they only considered as a temporary sacrifice of principle to expediency,—as a connivance which was not to last; and headed by the Earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and others, they formed a general Protestant league, entered privately into agreements, and, styling themselves the Congregation of the Lord, published a solemn protest against the abominations and corruptions of popery. Among those who went over to the Congregation of the Lord, or the Lords of the Congregation, was the Earl of Arran, formerly regent, who had now for some years rejoiced in his French title of Duke of Chatelherault, and whose religion was of a very elastic nature. But their principal leader—a man of extraordinary abilities whatever we may think of his honour or virtue—was James Stuart, prior, or commendator, of the monastery of St. Andrew's, a natural son of the late king, the unfortunate James V., and half-brother of the beautiful Mary Stuart. This man professed a wonderful zeal for the new religion, whereby, not less than by his talents, he attached to himself what was now most decidedly the popular and the stronger party.

At this critical moment the absent Mary Stuart had become queen of France, a transitory grandeur, which only lasted as it were for a moment, and which tended still further to increase the jealousies of the Scots and to embarrass her friends in her native country. Her father-in-law, Henry II. of France, had not been very happy

since the signing of the (to him) disadvantageous treaty of Cateau Cambresis, but the immediate cause of his death was an accidental wound in the eye from a broken lance while tilting. He expired on the 10th of July, 1559, in the forty-first year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the husband of Mary, under the title of Francis II. In this manner the Scots became more and more confirmed in their idea that their country was to be held and treated as a French province or dependence; and hence every Frenchman, every ship, every bale of goods that arrived from France was looked upon with a jealous eye. Nor did Francis and Mary, on their accession to the French throne, neglect to take measures for the re-establishment of the royal power in the northern kingdom. In the end of July, a thousand French soldiers landed at Leith; and that the spiritual interests might not be neglected, Francis and Mary sent with these men-at-arms a certain number of orthodox divines from the Sorbonne. With these reinforcements, and giving out that more were coming, the queen-regent took possession of Leith and quartered the odious papistical and foreign soldiers on the townspeople. When the citizens of Leith complained, she assured them that the measure was necessary for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and that she could not, and would not, desist until the lords should dismiss their armed men. The Lords of the Congregation had of course less intention than ever of laying down the sword,—their party was daily increasing, and that of the queen-dowager was as rapidly declining. At this crisis it seems to have fallen principally to the preachers to expound the lawfulness of resistance to constituted authorities; and in so doing some of them occasionally broached doctrines which were exceedingly odious to all the royal ears of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant. But the Scotch Protestants soon found that the Catholics were still powerful,—that many, even of their own communion, disapproved of their extreme measures, and looked upon their conduct as rebellion,—that the foreign troops were formidable from he excellent state of their discipline and appointments,

—that the chief fortresses of the kingdom were in their hands,—that money was pouring in from France, and that the Lords of the Congregation were, as usual, excessively needy. In this emergency, they resolved to apply for assistance to Elizabeth, and, in order to gain her favour, some of them adopted, for the present, the English Liturgy. Elizabeth was solemnly bound by the recent treaty of Cateau Cambresis to do nothing in Scotland to the prejudice of Mary's rights and authority; but then Mary, since the signing of that treaty, had behaved disrespectfully to one of Elizabeth's servants; and it was known or shrewdly suspected that the Catholic fanatics, who mainly ruled the councils of the French court, were determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to assert the Scottish queen's rights and strike a blow in England for Mary, God, and Church. We will not pretend to say that, if all these provocations had been wanting, Elizabeth would not have adopted precisely the same line of conduct, which was nothing but a drawing out of the old line of Henry VIII., which fell to her as a political heir-loom. When the matter was debated in the English council, there was, however, some difference of opinion, and a strong repugnance on the part of the queen, to what was deemed the anarchical polity of John Knox. The Scottish lords, or rather the great English statesmen who espoused their cause, putting aside the delicate question of rebellion and aiding of rebels, represented that the French were keeping and increasing an army in Scotland, and aiming at nothing less than the entire possession or mastery of the country; that Scotland would only prove a step to England; that when the Protestants there were overpowered, the French and Catholics would undoubtedly try to place Mary Stuart on the throne of England, and renew the tyranny of Mary Tudor; that the safety of the queen, the state, the church, the liberty of England, depended essentially on the turn which affairs might take in Scotland.* It

* Memorial written by my Lord Treasurer (Cecil) with his own hand, 5th August, 1559.—Sadler's State Papers.—Raumer.

was therefore resolved to support the Protestant nobility in their struggle with the queen-regent; but with such secrecy as neither to bring upon the Lords of the Congregation the odium of being the friends and pensioners of England, nor to engage Elizabeth in an open war with her sister and rival.* Elizabeth had not far to look for an agent competent to manage this business: our old friend Sir Ralph Sadler, who knew Scotland better than any Englishman, who had been in old times the bosom friend of the Scottish lords in the pay of Henry VIII., many of whom figured in the new movements, had quitted his rural retirement at Hackney on the accession of her present majesty, who had forthwith appointed him to a seat in her privy council. He was full of energy, and he entered on his new duties with a happy anticipation of success. In the course of the month of August Cecil issued a commission to Sir Ralph to settle certain disputes concerning border matters, and to superintend the repairs which it was proposed to make in the fortifications of Berwick and other English fortresses on or near to the borders. Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Sir James Croft, the governor of Berwick, were joined in the commission, but more for form than for anything else; for Northumberland, as a Papist himself, was suspected,—and the whole business was, in fact, intrusted to Sadler. The repairs which were actually begun on a large scale at Berwick seemed a very sufficient reason to account for Sadler's protracted stay; and Elizabeth had "thought necessary to provoke the queen-regent, her good sister, to appoint some of her ministers of like qualities to meet with the said Earl (Northumberland) and the said Sir Ralph and Sir James." Sadler was thus brought into contact with Scottish commissioners, whom he was instructed to bribe. By his private powers and instructions, in Cecil's hand writing, he was authorised to confer, treat, or practise with any manner of person of Scotland, either in Scot-

* Walter Scott's Biographical Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, prefixed to the State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight Banneret, edited by Arthur Clifford.

land or England, for his purposes and the furthering of the queen's service; to distribute money to the disaffected Scots, as he should think proper, to the amount of three thousand pounds, but he was always to proceed with such discretion and secrecy, that no part of his doings should awaken suspicion or impair the peace lately concluded between Elizabeth and Scotland. Sir Ralph soon reported progress to the cool and circumspect Cecil, telling him that if the Lords of the Congregation were properly encouraged and comforted, there was no doubt as to the result. On his arrival at Berwick he had found in that town a secret messenger sent from Knox to Sir James Croft (who appear to have been old friends), and by means of this messenger they signified to Knox that they wished that Mr. Henry Balnaves, or some other discreet and trusty Scotsman, might repair "in secret manner" to such place as they had appointed, to the intent that they might confer touching affairs. Sir James Croft had understood from Knox that his party would require aid of the queen's majesty for the entertainment and wages of fifteen hundred harquebusiers and three hundred horsemen, which, if they might have, then France (as Knox said) should "soon understand their minds." To this demand for aid, Sadler had so answered as not to leave them without hope: but he is anxious "to understand the queen's majesty's pleasure in that part, wishing, if it may be looked for that any good effect shall follow, that her majesty should not, for the spending of a great deal more than the charge of their demand amounteth unto, pretermit such an opportunity." But it was money, ready money, that the Scottish reformers incessantly clamoured for. "And to say our poor minds unto you," continues Sir Ralph, "we see not but her highness must be at some charge with them; *for of bare words only, though they may be comfortable, yet can they receive no comfort.*" This letter was written on the 20th of August (1559), immediately after Sadler's arrival at the scene of intrigue, and on the same day John Knox was requested to send his secret agent to Holy Isle. By a letter dated on the 24th of the same month,

Elizabeth told Sadler that he should immediately deal out "in the secretest manner" the money committed to him at his departure from London "to such persons and to such intents as might most effectually further and advance that service which had been specially recommended unto him." And on the same day Cecil addressed to Arran, or Chatelherault, a much more remarkable letter, which it should appear Sir Ralph was to forward to its destination. From some expressions used by Cecil, it should almost seem that Elizabeth entertained the notion of uniting the two kingdoms under her own dominion, without any reference to the rights of Mary; but the Scottish nation was certainly *not* prepared for any such measure, nor did the fastest pace of the Lords of the Congregation come up with it. On the 28th of August the queen-regent of Scotland, in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of the French and Scots, appointed Scottish commissioners to treat with Sadler and Northumberland for the settlement of the border disputes, the release of prisoners on both sides, and the establishing a sound and lasting tranquillity on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, the seat of ancient and fierce enmities. These commissioners were the infamous James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, who, a few years later, involved Queen Mary in disgrace and destruction; Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, father of the celebrated secretary of Mary; and Sir Walter Car, or Kerr, of Cessford, ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh. Sir Ralph Sadler thought fit to postpone the meeting to the 11th of September, and the Scottish commissioners do not appear to have been sensible of the fact that, in the meanwhile, those of England were actively corresponding with the insurgents. Great caution was used in that matter. In conformity with Cecil's advice a comfortable letter was drawn up between Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to the Lords of the Congregation, expressing their hearty sorrow at understanding that their godly enterprise, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory, and next to the safeguard and defence of their natural country from the conquest of the French

nation, should be unfortunately stayed and interrupted.* But this letter was not sent to its destination; and it seems to have been stopped in consequence of the journey into Scotland of the son and heir of the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been in England in close conference with Cecil, by means of whom the necessary encouragement might be transmitted to the insurgents by word of mouth, thus diminishing the chance of committing Queen Elizabeth as a fomenter of the rebellion.

The ex-regent's son, who at this time bore his father's former title of Earl of Arran, stole into Scotland with an English pass, under the assumed name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and he was accompanied by Master Thomas Randall, or Randolph, an able and intelligent agent of Queen Elizabeth, an adept in secret intrigues, who assumed, for the nonce, the name of Barnyby.† This Randall, or Randolph, alias Barnyby, remained a considerable time in Scotland, being, in fact, the resident envoy of Elizabeth to the Lords of the Congregation. He occasionally corresponded directly with the queen's council, but more generally with Sir R. Sadler. On the 8th of September, three days before the appointed meeting with the commissioners of the queen-regent of Scotland, Sadler wrote to inform Cecil that Mr. Balnaves had at last arrived at midnight from the Lords of the Congregation, and had made him "the whole discourse of all their proceedings from the beginning." English money and promises had worked the desired effect; the Lords of the Congregation were encouraged to strike another blow.

In an armistice concluded at the Links of Leith on the 24th of the preceding month of July, it was covenanted —1. That the town of Edinburgh should use what religion they pleased. 2. That no one should be prosecuted for religion. 3. That no garrison should be

* Sadler's State Papers.

† In the passport M. de Beaufort, alias Arran, was designated as "a gentleman of our good brother the French king;" Barnyby, alias Randolph, as a gentleman appointed to accompany him.

placed in Edinburgh. A dispute arose concerning the possession of the high church of St. Giles's in Edinburgh, which the queen-regent desired to retain for the exercise of the Catholic worship, and which the reformers were equally eager to occupy. But, in fact, the vehement John Knox was determined to drive the Roman clergy from every church, from every altar, whether public or private, and thus immediately after the agreement of the Links of Leith, he extended his demands, insisting that mass should not be said even within the precincts of the palace of Holyrood. Sadler granted the Lords of the Congregation for the present 2000*l.*, telling their envoy, that if they made a good use of it, and kept the secret, and the queen's *honour* untouched, they should soon have more. Balnaves returned well satisfied to the Lords of the Congregation, who took the money as secretly as possible. In the same long letter, in which he reports all that had passed with Balnaves, Sir Ralph informs Cecil that there were other Scottish Protestants, as Kirkaldy of Grange, Ormeston, and Whitlaw, "which have spent much for this matter, whereof they be earnest prosecutors, and, having lost fifteen or sixteen months' pay, which they should now have had out of France," looked for some relief, and had been put in some hope thereof; "but," continues Sadler, "because we have been so liberal of the queen's purse, albeit it pleased her majesty to commit the same to the discretion of me the said Sir Ralph, yet we would be glad to know how her highness liketh or misliketh what we have done before we do any more." Elizabeth was obliged to send down more money to Berwick, some of which was paid to Kirkaldy, Ormeston, and Whitlaw, and some, it should appear, to the Earl of Arran, the son of the Duke of Chatelherault, the ex-regent. In a day or two Arran was safely delivered in Teviotdale to one of his friends, who undertook to convey him surely and secretly to his father in the castle of Hamilton; and it appears to have been after this return of his son that the ex-regent fully declared for the Lords of the Congregation. Meanwhile, on the appointed day, Sadler, with Croft and the

Earl of Northumberland, met the commissioners of the queen-regent upon the frontiers. A dispute about the wording of their respective commissions consumed some time, and then, with proper diplomatic slowness, Sadler proceeded to business,—a business which, like all border disputes, could be lengthened *ad infinitum*. During these discussions Knox let his preachers loose on the country; the queen-regent "fell into a great melancholy and displeasure;" the Congregation began to assemble, and the Frenchmen began to devise means for their own defence. Had she but known half the treachery that was at work, the queen-regent had good reason to be melancholy. Her secretary, William Maitland, wrote to Sadler's associate, Sir James Croft, desiring him to have no less good opinion of him than heretofore, and offering his service to the queen's majesty (Elizabeth) in anything that he could: "and further," says Croft in a joint letter, "he sent me word that he attended upon the regent in her court no longer than till he might have good occasion to revolt unto the Protestants." At the same time, however, more troops arrived from France, and more French money was placed at the disposal of the queen-regent and her party. John Knox was greatly alarmed as to the *French* money, and he immediately besought Elizabeth to counteract its dangerous effects to the Protestant interests by sending more *English* money into Scotland. On his recent return from Geneva through England he had had an interview with Cecil, and evidently had arranged beforehand the plan of his operations.* He corresponded afterwards with the English secretary and others in England; and on the 21st of September, under the feigned name of John Sinclear, he wrote to Sadler's colleague, Croft, a remarkable letter from St. Andrew's. After mentioning the return of the younger Arran, and how the Lords of the Congregation had departed for Stirling to join him and his father, the Duke of Chatelherault, at Hamilton

* Knox had arrived in Scotland only on the 2nd of May of this present year, 1559.

Castle, he passed at once to the question of money, and told Mr. Secretary that unless more money was sent, especially for some chiefs whom he had named in writing, it would be impossible for them to serve in this action.*

Those who take the least favourable view of the character of John Knox can hardly suspect that he wanted money for himself, but he knew the world and the mercenary character of most of the Scottish chiefs; and, besides, the sinews of war appear really to have been wanting, and the Catholic party, as we have seen, were drawing funds from France. For a time it was a struggle of the purse between England and France. Elizabeth, at all times parsimonious, was at the present poor and embarrassed, and yet, under the wise guidance of Cecil and Sadler, she continued to send gold down to Berwick. Meanwhile the French fortified Leith, as if "intending to keep themselves within that place, and so to be masters of the chief port and entrance into that part of Scotland;" and the Lords of the Congregation attempted to get possession of Edinburgh Castle, in which, however, they were defeated by Lord Erskine the governor, who professed to observe neutrality between the contending parties, and refused to admit either Protestants or Catholics.

In spite of all the precaution of the English queen and the marvellous address of her agent, Mary's mother was not altogether blind to what was passing, and she complained, through her commissioners, that, without her license and knowledge, many of the Scottish insurgents were allowed to pass through England into Scotland, and also out of Scotland into England, to work mischief to her government. It is indeed certain that the Cardinal of Lorraine, and others who directed the councils of that very youthful couple, would have made Francis and Mary quarter the English arms under any circumstances; but notwithstanding this, Elizabeth, with reference to her own conduct, could not justly allege that the first provocation to their mortal quarrel proceeded from

* Sadler Papers.

Mary. It is almost idle to consider this as a moral question, or as an affair directed personally by the two rival princesses; but as many writers have viewed it in this light it may be proper to make prominent one or two little facts. Mary was only in her seventeenth year, her husband was nearly a year younger, and both were entirely guided by others. Elizabeth was in her twenty-sixth year, the mistress of her own council and actions, an experienced and most competent person. If, therefore, a false and unfair direction was given to the policy of Mary it was her misfortune, or an offence for which morally she was not accountable, but in Elizabeth such a thing would be her own crime.

The ex-regent Chatelherault took occasion openly to declare himself on the French fortifying Leith, and he told the queen-regent that she must either dislodge them, or be sure that the nobility of Scotland would not suffer nor endure it. The regent replied that it was surely as lawful for her daughter to fortify where she pleased in her own realm as it was for him, the duke, to build fortifications for himself at Hamilton Castle, and that she would not remove the French from Leith unless she were compelled by force. As soon as these matters were known at Berwick, where agents and spies were constantly going and coming, Sadler wrote a short but sententious letter to his old acquaintance the duke, assuring his grace that if it might lie in so poor a man as he was to do his grace any service, he should find him most willing and ready thereto, to the uttermost of his power at all times. The duke and the Lords of the Congregation suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline, burning all the images, idols, and popish stuff in the same, and by means of Alexander Whitlaw, "*a godly man and most affectionate to England*," they assured Sadler that they would take the field after harvest against the French,—*only they wanted some more money*, without which they should not be able to keep their men together. At the same time Knox sued again for relief for certain Scottish leaders whom he would not name, but whom Sadler

set down as the Earl of Glencairn, the Lairds of Dun, Ormeston, and Grange, and the honest and righteous Alexander Whitlaw. La Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens had arrived with a few troops at Leith, and more were expected. In this posture of affairs Sadler recommended the immediate spending of 4000*l.* or 5000*l.*, which he thought might save the queen's highness a great deal another way. While they were getting ready this money in England the regent wrote to the duke, reproving him for joining with the Lords of the Congregation, and accusing him and the said lords of their practices with Queen Elizabeth. At the same time the regent spoke of a new agreement, offering to leave off fortifying Leith, to secure liberty for all men to use their conscience, and to send the French out of Scotland by a certain day; but the duke answered that he could do nothing without the Lords of the Congregation. The sum of 3000*l.* in French coin was down at Berwick by the 10th of October; and from Berwick it soon found its way into the pockets of the Lords of the Congregation; but still those chiefs were slow in taking the field; and Sadler, through Thomas Randolph, alias Barnyby, told them that they ought to be more diligent in this great and weighty business. A few days afterwards Sir Ralph was still more pressing, telling the Lords of the Congregation that they ought "to take their time while they have it, and thereby prevent the malice of their enemies." Randolph, who was moving about with the Scottish lords, assured Sadler that something would be done presently, for the queen-regent had set forth *her* proclamation, and the Lords of the Congregation had also set forth *their* proclamation "as vehement on the other side, with full determination to fall to no composition." By this time continual vexation and alarm had broken the health of Mary of Guise. "Some," writes Randolph, "think that the regent will depart secretly; some that she will to Inchkeith, for that three ships are a preparing. Some say that she is very sick: some say the devil cannot kill her." In the same secret despatch, which, like most of

the rest, was written in a cipher, Randolph says that the Prior of St. Andrew's has just sent to the Earl of Arran a powerful letter, said to be received out of France, containing many news of the great preparations making in that country against Scotland, with earnest advice to the lords to seek aid of England; "which letter," adds the adroit agent, "I guess to savour too much of Knox's style to come from France, though it will serve to good purpose."

The queen-regent by this time had conveyed all her property out of Holyrood House and Edinburgh, into Leith. At last, the Lords of the Congregation, with the Duke of Chatelherault and his son, the Earl of Arran, at their head, marched upon the capital: the regent, with the French and the Scottish lords of the Catholic party who yet adhered to her, withdrew at their approach within the fortified lines of Leith, there to await aid from France. The lords called a parliament, and summoned to Edinburgh all the gentlemen living upon the borders, upon pain of treason in case of non-attendance. On the 22nd of October Balnaves, in great glee, reported that all hope of concord had that day been taken away, by reason that blood had been drawn largely on both sides.* At the same time he pressed for *more money*, and asked for some English gunpowder.† Two days after, the Lords of the Congregation themselves addressed Sadler, telling him that they had deprived the queen-regent of her authority, by common consent of all the lords and barons present at Edinburgh,—that they had openly proclaimed her deprivation, had inhibited her officers from executing any-

* This blood was drawn in skirmishes outside of the works of Leith. Knox, in his history, says that there was skirmishing, but without great slaughter.

† In praising himself, Balnaves seems to cast a reflection on his colleagues. He tells Randolph to assure their honours, the English commissioners, in his name, that the little money he had brought with him had gone farther than 5000*l.* would have gone intrusted to anybody else.

thing in her name, and had further denounced "her French and assistants" as enemies to the commonwealth. Touching the lords' request for *more money* and for gunpowder, Sadler replied that he trusted they would consider *secrecy* above all things,—that he did not see how he could send them powder without an open show and manifestation of Elizabeth as an enemy to the French, who were then *in peace and amity with her:* and yet he adds, if they can devise which way the same may be secretly conveyed unto them, in such sort as it could not be known to come from England, he could be well content that they had as much gunpowder as might be spared from Berwick conveniently. And likewise for *money*, he was in good hope of having some to send them soon, but he prayed that they would use such precautions and mysteries as the importance of the matter and the *honour* of Queen Elizabeth required, and be more close and secret in their doings and conferences. At this moment it should appear that the zeal of John Knox outran his discretion, and that his demands for English co-operation and assistance went beyond all bounds. In a letter which runs in the name of Sir James Croft, but which was in the hand-writing of Sadler, the Scottish reformer is taken to task roundly for forgetting the position and the plans of the English court. Knox, who, notwithstanding his zeal for heavenly things, could reason like a politician, had written to Croft or to Sadler, saying that the queen-regent "had plainly spoken that she knew the means how to frustrate the expectations of aid from England," by delivering up Calais to Queen Elizabeth; and he had evidently expressed himself as if he suspected that the English court was coquetting in that direction. Sir Ralph was very earnest in removing this doubt. He replied, almost eloquently. This letter was written on the 27th of October: on the last day of the same month Sir Ralph addressed Randolph, telling him that he expected every day some good answer from the court *touching the money*, and that, in the mean time, he forwarded by the Laird of Ormeston 1000*l.* sterling in French crowns. As the Laird of Ormeston was tra-

velling from Berwick towards Edinburgh, he was set upon by the Lord Bothwell, who took the money-bags from him and kept them, apparently for his own use. Ormeston reached the capital "sorely hurt;" upon which the Earl of Arran and the Prior of St. Andrew's went with two hundred horsemen, one hundred footmen, and two pieces of artillery, to the Lord Bothwell's house, "trusting to have found him; howbeit they came too late only by a quarter of an hour." They, however, took his house and threatened to burn it to the ground, and declare the earl a traitor, unless he returned the money. This loss was a most serious mishap; but though both Elizabeth and her chief adviser Cecil were grieved to the heart by it, they soon sent more money. At the same time, Knox (whose 'Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women' always grated harshly on the queen's ear) had excited apprehension, and jealousy, and disgust, at the English court by his advocacy of the Calvinistic discipline and of political tenets that seemed both republican and democratic. "Of all others," writes Cecil to Sadler, "Knox's name is most odious here, and, therefore, I wish no mention of him hither."* But Cecil was as deeply convinced as ever of the necessity of supporting the Protestant insurrection. "It is here seen," he says, "by such to whom it hath been secretly committed, that the end of this *their* matter is certainly the beginning of ours, be it weal or woe; and therefore, I see it will follow necessarily that we must have good regard that they quail not." In this letter, which is dated on the 3rd of November, he goes much farther than he had hitherto gone, authorising Sadler to tell the Scot-

* Two or three days later, in another letter to Sir Ralph, Cecil says, "Surely I like not Knox's audacity, which also was well tamed in your answer. His writings do no good here; and, therefore, I do rather suppress them, and yet I mean not but that ye should continue in sending of them." Balnaves also had incurred the suspicion and dislike of Sadler and Cecil, and for the same republican tenets.

tish lords that, if they would forthwith raise a sufficient force, and venture on the siege of Leith, all the charges should be borne for them; and that if they took Leith, in case of the French making any array by sea to invade Scotland, they should be met and hindered if their power appeared greater than the Scottish Protestants could reasonably withstand.

Sadler entered completely into these views, and was of opinion that *now* deception could no longer be practised, by reason of the mischief which had befallen Ormeston. Succour was therefore sent in more boldly to the Lords of the Congregation, who, at last, beleaguered Leith. But in so wretched a state of discipline was this Scottish army, that at every sortie the French took them by surprise, and gained an advantage over them. On the 6th of November the Presbyterians, commanded by the Earl of Arran and the Prior of St. Andrew's, were surrounded in the marshes of Restalrig, and defeated with some loss by a portion of the French garrison. Their retreat to Edinburgh was nearly cut off, and when they got there they fell to serious debating, the end of which was, that the Earl of Glencairn, with some other lords, resolved to leave the capital in order to collect more men. But, finally, upon perceiving that the greatest part of their force, "which consisted of the *commons* that were not able to abide and serve any longer upon their own costs and charges," were all departing from them, the whole of the Congregation evacuated Edinburgh, and fled to Stirling by night. At the latter place Knox finished a sermon which he had commenced at Edinburgh before the flight, and, according to his own account, "the lords were much erected" by this long discourse. He was, no doubt, the great animating principle in this remarkable contest: but, while he was preaching at Stirling, the queen-regent and the French re-entered the capital in great triumph.

A.D. 1560.—Notwithstanding the effective preaching of John Knox, and the reviving spirit of the Scottish Protestants, it soon became evident that something more must be done for them than the sending of money to the

needy and mercenary nobles, who must have made a selfish use of a good part of it; and when Elizabeth learned that the queen-regent was promised fresh supplies and troops from France, she resolved to make such preparations as should prevent the Scots from being crushed. Therefore, without altogether giving up her secret practices, or stopping her private subsidies, she began to prepare a fleet and an army. Her warlike preparations were soon rumoured abroad, and at this moment the French court really made her an offer of the immediate restitution of Calais, provided only she would not interfere in the affairs of Scotland. To this tempting offer Elizabeth replied, that she could never put a fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she continued her preparations, and intimated to the Lords of the Congregation that she was now ready to enter upon a treaty with them. The Scottish lords chose for their negotiator the able William Maitland of Lethington, who had now deserted from his post of secretary to the regent, a step he had been contemplating for some time. If the English queen had any lingering doubts and misgivings as to braving a war, they were soon removed by this truly accomplished diplomatist. On the 27th of February she concluded, at Berwick, a treaty of mutual defence, which was to last during the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the French king, and for a year after; she solemnly promised never to lay down her arms till the French should be entirely driven out of Scotland; and she gave equally solemn assurances that she would not attack the liberties, laws, and usages of the Scots.*

In the month of March, notwithstanding the storms of winter, the English fleet, which consisted of thirteen large ships of war besides transports, appeared in the Frith of Forth, and at a critical moment, for four thousand Frenchmen, horse and foot, had been detached from Edinburgh and Leith, and were then engaged in ravaging the fertile and Protestant county of Fife. D'Oisel, their general, who had not proceeded unmolested, and who

* Rymer.

was checked by the appearance on his left flank of numerous Scottish bodies under the Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord Ruthven, and Kirkaldy of Grange, was transported with joy at the sight of the gallant fleet, which he mistook for the long-promised ships of d'Elbœuf, and he wasted a great deal of valuable gunpowder in firing a salute. But, presently, Winter, the English admiral, hoisted his flag, and at that unwelcome sight d'Oisel turned, and began a difficult and dangerous retreat. He, however, reached Edinburgh, where he found the queen-regent in an alarming state of health. Foreseeing the dangers and hardships to which her sinking frame would be exposed in a besieged town, the broken-hearted and dying Mary of Guise implored the Lord Erskine to receive her into the castle of Edinburgh; and his lordship, who still maintained his curious neutrality and independence, granted her an asylum upon condition that she should take only a few attendants into the castle with her. Quitting his royal mistress, his steady and affectionate friend, for ever, d'Oisel threw himself into Leith. That place had been well fortified before, and now he employed a short time allowed him by the enemy in adding to its defences; and, notwithstanding the fact that the English attacked Leith rather like bull-dogs than soldiers, d'Oisel and the French engineers must have evinced very considerable skill. The whole force of the French now in Scotland did not exceed three thousand men. An English army, amounting to six thousand men, under the Lord Grey de Wilton, having marched by Berwick to Preston on the 6th of April, 1560, joined a considerable force brought thither by the Lords of the Congregation; and while the fleet blockaded the port of Leith, and prevented the arrival of any succour from France, the united armies of Scotland and England laid siege to the town on the land side. The Marquis d'Elbœuf had embarked for Scotland with a large force, but his transports were scattered by a storm, and either wrecked on the coast of Holland or driven back to France. In this way the English fleet had no opportunity of distinguishing itself in battle. The land troops

soon gave glaring proofs that they had in a great degree lost the habit of discipline, and that they were unskilfully commanded. They opened their trenches in ground utterly unfit for the purpose, and their guns were so badly pointed as to make little or no impression on the bastions which the French had thrown up, or on the walls of Leith. Their line of circumvallation was loose and ragged, and so little vigilance was used, that for some time the French broke through it with impunity. It soon appeared that Leith, "though not thought inexpugnable, would percase be found of such strength as would require time, and that the greatest want which the Scottish chieftains did fear was *lack of money;* for, otherwise, they were of good courage."* This courage, however, had been damped by sundry suspicions and misgivings. At the very commencement of hostilities, even while the Scotch and English were engaged with the French, Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard had an interview with the queen-regent in Edinburgh Castle. This circumstance instantly excited the suspicion of the Lords of the Congregation, who apprehended that Elizabeth had empowered her diplomatic agents to make a separate peace, upon conditions advantageous to herself, and that thus the Scottish insurgents would be abandoned to the vengeance of the French and the queen-mother. And we have very satisfactory evidence to prove that their fears were not altogether groundless.† There can be little doubt that the selfish and vacillating Duke of Chatelherault and several noble lords of his party, who were at best but lukewarm Protestants, would have entered with Elizabeth and the queen-regent into any "reasonable accord" that would have promoted their personal interests, and that they would have left John Knox and the Congregation to shift for themselves: but, most auspiciously for the latter, Elizabeth's agents and Mary of Guise, who retained a high spirit even in death, could not agree; the treaty in Edinburgh Castle was broken off, and in a few days the English queen

* Sadler to Cecil. † Burleigh Papers.

resolved that the siege of Leith should be more earnestly prosecuted, and her forces both by sea and land augmented. At the same time the English commanders were instructed not "to contemn or neglect any reasonable offers of agreement" that might be made by the French. But these veterans for a long time had no inclination to make any offers, and they continued to defend Leith with a skill and bravery which gained for them high honour among soldiers in every part of Europe. According to Brantome, a seal was put to a soldier's reputation if he could say that he had served in this gallant defence of Leith.* On the side of the English and Scots the operations advanced very slowly, and their labour was repeatedly rendered of no avail by the ingenuity of the French engineers. At last a bad breach was made, and towards this the English, who at least had lost none of their physical courage, rushed in blind fury, heedless of the well-directed artillery of the enemy: but when they came to use their scaling-ladders they found them far too short for the purpose, and after a dreadful struggle they were repulsed and obliged to flee to their intrenchments, leaving a ditch half filled with dead,—the victims of the ignorance or inconsiderateness of their officers. The English were so much dispirited by their failure on this and other occasions, that they talked of a retreat; but more money was sent down to their Scottish allies, and the Duke of Norfolk, in addition to several smaller bodies despatched already, forwarded a reinforcement of two thousand men. Thus the siege was carried on more closely than ever, or, rather, it was converted into the closest of blockades.

Matters were in this state when, on the 10th of June, the queen-regent breathed her last in Edinburgh Castle. On her death-bed she sent for her daughter's half-brother, the bastard James Stuart, and some others of the Lords of the Congregation, to whom she earnestly recommended her absent child, and their queen. We shall presently see how little impression this solemn and touch-

* Vies des Grands Capitaines François.

ing scene made upon the cold, hard heart of the Prior of St. Andrew's. The death of Mary of Guise hastened the conclusion of a peace, which, however, the French government was made to desire by other circumstances and alarming demonstrations, which, at the least, threatened France with a fierce civil war. The two brothers of the deceased queen-regent of Scotland, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, who in fact governed the French kingdom in the name of Francis and Mary, had excited the deadly animosity of the French Protestants, and of other great and powerful factions: they had recently discovered an extensive conspiracy directed against the whole House of Lorraine, and though they had prevented its outbreak for the present, they well knew that the conspirators would never be reconciled to them. At such a moment they could not spare fresh troops for the very doubtful and expensive struggle in Scotland, and even the veteran force blocked up in Leith was much missed and its return anxiously desired. Elizabeth opened a ready ear to some overtures made by the House of Lorraine, and it was finally agreed that her commissioners should have a meeting with certain French commissioners in the town of Berwick on the 14th of June. The able men appointed by Elizabeth were Cecil and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury; the French negotiators were Monluc, bishop of Valence, and the Count de Randan, both men of consummate abilities. These diplomatists, who seem to have been very fairly matched, met, and proceeded on the 16th of June to Edinburgh. Several days were consumed in settling conditions; but on the 6th of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Lord Grey de Wilton, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Ralph Sadler, gave orders in the besiegers' camp that there should no piece be shot nor show of hostility be made; and on the following day Sir Francis Leake and Sir Gervase Clifton, accompanied by two French gentlemen, were sent into the town of Leith to signify unto M. d'Oisel, the bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, Marigny, and other the French lords and captains, that they were come thither by command of the commissioners of France

and England to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed, which accordingly was done. Leith was then surrendered, and the French governor d'Oisel regaled the captains of the besiegers with a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, in which the only flesh used was that of a salted horse,—a circumstance which, as it has been observed, marks national manners and French skill, as well as the extremity to which the place had been reduced.*

The treaty, which appears to have been the joint production of Cecil and Sadler, was highly honourable and advantageous to Elizabeth. Besides Leith, Dunbar and Inchkeith were to be surrendered, and the fortifications destroyed; the administration of affairs in Scotland was to be vested in a council of twelve Scottish noblemen, of whom seven were to be named by the queen, and five by the parliament; no foreign forces were thenceforward to be introduced into Scotland without the full consent and will of the Scottish parliament; an indemnity was stipulated for all things passed in Scotland since March, 1558; and every man was to be restored to the office he held before these hostilities, while no Frenchman was ever to hold any office in Scotland. On the subject of religion, the *main* cause, but certainly not the only one, of the late war, it was agreed that the estates of the kingdom should report to Queen Mary and her husband their opinion and their wishes touching that matter. At the same time there was a separate treaty made between France and England, by which France recognised the right of Elizabeth to her crown, and agreed that Mary, in time to come, should neither assume the title nor bear the arms of England.†

The removal of the foreign troops secured the triumphant supremacy of the Protestant party, which, by this time, unquestionably included the majority of the Scottish

* Walter Scott.—Stow says, "Where was prepared for them a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, and yet not one either of flesh or fish, saving one of a powdered horse, as was avouched by one that avowed himself to have tasted thereof."

† Rymer.

nation of all classes, and which henceforward had the field almost entirely to itself.

While the Scottish affairs were as yet unsettled, the English queen's vanity was flattered by another pressing offer of marriage from her old suitor Eric, who had now ascended the throne of Sweden. In his extreme anxiety for this match, Eric sent his own brother, the Duke of Finland, to plead in his behalf. The duke arrived at Harwich, where he was honourably received and entertained by the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Robert Dudley, who, with a goodly band of gentlemen and yeomen, conducted him to London. Those who knew her best, knew well that Elizabeth had never the intention of making any such marriage. Sir Ralph Sadler, who was then at Berwick, wrote to Randolph in Scotland, that the King of Sweden had sent a great ambassador to the queen's majesty with great and liberal offers, "which you may be sure," he adds, "will take no place." A few days after his arrival, Cecil, evidently in amaze, says, "We also hear that the Archduke of Austria is on the way hitherward, not with any pomp, but rather, as it may seem, by post, in stealth. The King of Spain is earnest for him. What may come time will shortly show. I would to God her majesty had *one*, and the rest honourably satisfied." The Duke of Austria did not come, as was expected; but the King of Denmark entered the arena, and being unwilling that his neighbour and rival, the King of Sweden, should bear off so glorious a prize, he sent his nephew, the Duke of Holstein, into England to try his fortune with this most royal virgin. An elegant writer * has made a parallel between Elizabeth and the fair and wealthy Portia; but the queen could hardly exclaim—"While we shut the gate on one wooer, another knocks at the door,"—for she kept her door open for several suitors at once, coquetting with Sweden, Denmark, and Austria, to say nothing of minor pretenders.†

* Aikin, Mem. of Queen Elizabeth.

† In the words of Camden, there were not wanting at home "some persons who fed themselves (as lovers use to

As soon as the Scots were relieved of the presence of the French army they proceeded to settle their religion. The parliament assembled on the 1st of August, 1560, in greater numbers than had ever been known before; and their first business was to receive and discuss a petition from the chief Lords of the Congregation, who required a formal and national manifesto against the church of Rome. Without much debate the parliament adopted the declaration that the authority of the Roman church was a usurpation over the liberties and consciences of Christian men, an odious tyranny not to be borne. This manifesto was accompanied by a confession of faith, in which they renounced all the tenets and dogmas of the church that had been attacked by the reformers of Germany, Switzerland, and England, and disowned for ever the whole authority of the pope. A few years before, the reformers would have been contented—or, at least, so they affirmed—with liberty to follow the dictates of their own conscience, and to worship God in the way they thought best; but now that they were the powerful party, they showed a most fixed resolution not to allow to others the sweet and precious liberty they had claimed for themselves. They menaced with secular punishments those who continued to worship according to the manner of their fathers, and proceeded to enact the most oppressive laws against the Catholics. Whosoever officiated in, or was present at a mass, was, in the first instance, to be punished with confiscation of goods and imprisonment at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second offence he was to be banished; and for the third to suffer death. The Presbyterian form of discipline was adopted, and bishops and other dignitaries were declared to be limbs of papal superstition and tyranny. When they had pro-

do) with golden dreams of marrying their sovereign:" and he mentions particularly Sir William Pickering, "a gentleman well born, of a narrow estate, but much esteemed for his learning, his handsome way of living, and the management of some embassies into France and Germany;" Henry, earl of Arundel, a vain, formal man; and Robert Dudley, afterwards the notorious Earl of Leicester.

ceeded thus far, they condescended to consult with their absent queen, and sent over Sir James Sandilands, formerly Prior of the Knights Hospitallers, to France, to demand the ratification of their acts. Mary not only refused her assent to the statutes passed against the religion in which she had been brought up, but denied the validity of the parliament which had been summoned without her consent, and she and her husband would not even ratify the treaties of Edinburgh. It is said that Mary's uncles, the Princes of Lorraine, *openly* expressed their resentment, and *secretly* made preparations for invading Scotland with a French fleet and army, and in order to renew the civil war there, immediately called together all those who, like the Lord Seaton, still adhered to the ancient religion. But if these intentions were really entertained, they were all frustrated by the sudden death of Francis II., Mary's weak and imbecile husband, who expired on the 5th of December, 1560, after a reign of seventeen months. His brother and successor, Charles IX., was in his eleventh year, and with small promise of being healthier or more intellectual than Francis. By this accident, however, the chief power of the government fell out of the hands of Mary's uncles into those of her mother-in-law, the infamous Catherine de' Medici, who had no affection for the beautiful young widow. Catherine, in an unhappy hour for France, was appointed regent. Mary was now treated both disrespectfully and harshly, upon which she retired wholly from the court, and took up her residence at Rheims. The destinies of these two relations were so cast, that whatever was prejudicial to Mary was beneficial to Elizabeth. By the death of Francis, the English queen was freed from the perils attending the close union of Scotland and France, and from pretensions which might have been dangerous if urged at the moment with the whole power of the French monarchy. On the death of her husband, Mary had desisted from bearing the arms and title of Queen of England; and now Throgmorton,* a

* This was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, or Throckmorton,

diplomatist of the school of Cecil and Sadler, who was residing in France, as ambassador, received instructions to work upon the mind of the young widow, and induce her to ratify the treaties of Edinburgh. This Mary refused to do, principally on the ground that, by one of the clauses of the French treaty, her undisputed right of being at least next in succession to Elizabeth, would, as she had been taught to consider, be committed or impaired. Soon after, when Mary was making up her mind to return to her native country, she requested Elizabeth to grant her a safe conduct to cross the seas into Scotland, and allow her to pass through England if absolutely necessary. This application was made through d'Oisel, who had returned from France as Mary's ambassador; and it should appear that Elizabeth, in refusing the permission, gave way to anger and indecorous expressions of resentment in public.*

There was one party in Scotland that would gladly have left Mary where she was; and there were some men who would as gladly have seen her—even at this moment when she was untried, and when little was known of her, except her attachment to the old religion—a state prisoner in the hands of Queen Elizabeth; but the mass of the nation retained a certain loyalty and romantic affection for the orphan descendant of their kings; and it was found

who had saved his head by his able defence and the courage of the jury, in the preceding reign.

* Some of Elizabeth's motives for refusing the safe conduct are pretty plainly stated by Cecil in a letter to Throgmorton. The secretary says,—"By this our denial, our *friends in Scotland* shall find us to be of their disposition." These *friends* meant the enemies of Mary who had so recently been in arms, and who were almost ready to take up arms again, even before they had tried their young queen. Cecil adds in the same letter, "I think plainly the longer the Scottish Queen's affairs shall hang in an uncertainty, the longer will it be ere she shall have such a match in marriage as shall offend *us*."—*Hardwicke State Papers.* All this was part of a system which was never interrupted by the English court till Mary was ruined and disgraced

indispensable to recall her in an honourable manner. The person chosen to negotiate this return, and to conduct Mary to her native country, was her half-brother, James Stuart—a man more alien in views and conduct than he was near in blood to the young queen—a most "stirring commotioner," who had been a principal agent in all the changes and revolutions which had taken place during the last three eventful years,—a man identified with the Presbyterian party, not, there is much reason for suspecting, from any honest conviction, or religious zeal, but from a desire to make up by their means for the accident of his birth, and to place himself supreme over that throne from which his illegitimacy excluded him. The Catholics of Scotland, alarmed at the choice of this agent, and fearing the effect he might produce on his half-sister, resolved to send an ambassador of their own at the same time; and they selected for this office Lesley, bishop of Ross, an historian of credit and ability, whose fidelity to Mary during her afflictions commands honour from all honourable and feeling hearts. Three of her French relatives, the Duke of Aumerle, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis of Elbœuf, together with the Marquis Damville and other French noblemen, agreed, however, to accompany her into Scotland, and to see her safely lodged in her capital. In the month of August Mary embarked at Calais with a heavy heart. As she had been brought up in France from her infancy, she was naturally more French than Scotch, and it needed no great power of exaggeration to view Scotland as a very turbulent and very unattractive country; while, if Mary was at all conversant with its history, she must have known that the people had murdered all the kings of her most unhappy race, or sent them to the grave broken-hearted. She had been queen, though but for a short time, in the rich and fertile country she was leaving: until very recently she had been gay, and happy, and honoured, among a cheerful people; but what might await her in a poor and barren land? There was nearly everything to sadden and darken the prospect, and nothing to enliven it but a youthful hope, not likely to be strong in such a

moment: there was also the dread of being captured by Elizabeth, who had refused her a safe conduct; nor, though the matter is debated, is it quite clear that an English fleet in the Channel had not orders to intercept her. As her own little fleet glided from the port, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, often repeating, "Farewell, France—farewell, dear France—I shall never see thee more!" She arrived safely at Leith on the 19th of August, and her spirits revived on seeing the honest enthusiasm of the common people, who crowded the beach to salute the only relic of their kings, who had been torn from them in her childhood, and whom they had scarcely hoped ever to see again. But the lords had taken small pains to do honour to her reception, or to "cover over the nakedness and poverty of the land." Tears came into the young queen's eyes as she saw the wretched ponies, with bare wooden saddles or dirty and ragged trappings, which had been provided to carry her and her ladies from the water-side to Holyrood, then a small and dismal place, consisting only of what is now the north wing. But again her spirits revived at the enthusiastic plaudits of the people, who seem to have been enraptured at her youth and beauty and graceful and condescending demeanour. For a time even religious intolerance was soothed into tranquillity by the amiable manners and the prudent conduct of the young queen, who intrusted the chief management of affairs to her half-brother James Stuart, and to Maitland of Lethington, both men standing well with the people and the preachers. It should appear that when James Stuart went over to France he had promised to Mary the free exercise, within her own house, of her own religion, notwithstanding the warning of John Knox and the rest, that to import one mass into the kingdom of Scotland would be more fatal than to bring over a foreign army of ten thousand men. The zealots, however, were resolved to stop the queen's masses at starting. On the Sunday after her landing, when preparations were made in the chapel at Holyrood, they said to one another, "Shall that idol, the mass, again have place. It shall not!" And the young

master of Lindsay called out in the court-yard of the palace that the idolatrous priest should die the death according to God's law. Mary's half-brother had great difficulty in appeasing this tumult, and saving the Catholic priest from being murdered at the foot of the altar. But it did not suit James Stuart to set himself forward as the defender of idolatry; and while he stood with his drawn sword by the door of the chapel, he ingeniously pretended that it was only to prevent any Scot from entering to witness the abominable ceremony within.* It was immediately after this riot, and before Mary had well recovered from that giddiness of the head which is the consequence of a long voyage, that John Knox, in the first of his many celebrated interviews, undertook to convert the queen. Of the perfect honesty of his zeal, of his thorough conviction that the cause of the kingdom and of Christ was in danger so long as there was a Papist on the throne, there can be no doubt, yet the warmest of his admirers must now admit that Knox was singularly unfit to be an apostle in high places, and that the course he pursued from the very beginning, when, as it has been remarked, Mary had probably never heard a single word of argument against the faith she professed, was calculated only to disgust and alienate a high-spirited sovereign. It is said that he knocked at her heart until she shed tears;† but these were tears of offended pride and dignity,—tears forced from her by long-cherished

* Knox.

† "I assure you," writes Randolph to Cecil, "the voice of one man is able, in one hour, to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears. Mr. Knox spoke upon Tuesday unto the queen: he knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep, as well you know there be of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief, though in this the Lord James will disagree with me. She charged him with his book, with his severe dealing with all men that disagree with him in opinions. She willed him to use more meekness in his sermons."—Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters: edited by Thomas Wright, M.A., 2 vols. 8vo., Lon. 1838.

feelings, among which the least could not be a reverence for her deceased parents, who, according to this fiery zealot, must both be in the region of eternal weeping and gnashing of teeth. The sagacious Randolph, who, like his employers, was an utter stranger to this religious enthusiasm, plainly intimated to Cecil that Knox was pursuing a wrong course. "I commend," says he, "better the success of his doctrine and preachings than the manner of them, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His daily prayer for her is, that God will turn her heart, now obstinate against God and his truth; and if his holy will be otherwise, that he will strengthen the hearts and hands of the chosen, and the elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of tyrants." This was, in other words, to pray that the Protestants might rise in general rebellion against their young queen, and depose her, unless she forthwith abjured her religion. As for rage and tyranny, they were certainly not at this time on the side of the throne: the Catholics, as a political party, were crushed, and Mary had not the daring zeal to attempt their re-elevation at the expense of a civil war. Indeed it may be fairly doubted, from her youth and freedom from bigotry, whether, under a different treatment, she might not have been brought over to what was now the national religion.*

When Mary removed from Edinburgh to Stirling she found the same intolerance of her now persecuted church: the people, inflamed by their preachers, rose tumultuously, and threatened with death all such as should partake in the idolatry of the mass. Here the queen

* If we are to believe Randolph, her brother was not always inclined to protect Mary in the exercise of her religion. In a letter to Cecil, written about a month after the queen's return to Scotland, he says, "Sunday, the 8th of September, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James so disturbed the queen during mass that some priests and others left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. This was a sport for some, while others shed tears for that matter. It is suspected that Lord James seeketh to mind his own advancement; but as yet he has had but little from the queen."

wept again; but seeing no remedy, she followed the advice of her half-brother, and by issuing proclamations of banishment against the monks and friars, and by other steps in favour of the Protestants, she obtained for a time a tacit permission to worship God in her own way —*but always in private*. In the natural gaiety of her disposition, Mary sought to amuse her leisure hours (which, from her earnest attention to business, were not over numerous) with hunting and hawking, music and dancing,—things which had all become so many crimes in the eyes of the ascetic John Knox and his Calvinistic followers. It is difficult to conceive a greater vulgarity of ideas or coarseness of language than that in which the Presbyterian clergy assailed these pastimes, which can only be sinful in excess,—an excess not proved in the case of the queen. The preachers, one and all, were at least as bold in public as John Knox had been in his private conference. Every pulpit and hill-side was made to shake with awful denunciations of God's wrath and vengeance. This sour spirit fermented wonderfully among the citizens of Edinburgh: the town-council, of their own authority, issued a proclamation banishing from their town all the wicked rabble of anti-Christ, the pope,—such as priests, monks, and friars, together with all adulterers and fornicators. The privy-council, indignant at this assumption of an authority which could belong only to the sovereign and the parliament, suspended the magistrates; and then the magistrates, the people, and the preachers, declared that the queen, by an unrighteous sympathy, made herself the protector of adulterers and fornicators. Before any circumstance had occurred calculated to throw suspicion on the propriety of Mary's conduct either as a queen or as a woman, she was openly called Jezebel in the pulpit; and this became the appellation by which John Knox usually designated the sovereign. It was in vain Mary tried to win the favour of the zealous reformer. She promised him ready access to her whenever he should desire it; and entreated him, if he found her conduct blameable, to reprehend her in private, rather than vilify her in the

kirk before the whole people. But Knox, whose notion of the rights of his clerical office was of the most towering kind, and who, upon other motives besides those connected with religion, had declared a female reign to be an abomination,* was not willing to gratify the queen in any of her demands. He told her that it was her duty to go to the kirk to hear him,—not his duty to wait upon her. There was certainly a proud Calvinistic republicanism interwoven with this wonderful man's religious creed. Elizabeth afterwards blamed Mary that she had not sufficiently conformed to the advice of the Protestant preachers; but if Elizabeth herself had had to do with such a preacher as John Knox, she would, having the power, have sent him to the Marshalsea in one week, and to the pillory, or a worse place, in the next. He once told Queen Mary that he would submit to her even as Paul had submitted to Nero; but even this expression was mild and moderate compared with others, in which he renounced his submission, and upheld the holiness of regicide and the slaughter of Catholic priests.† Notwithstanding their avowed contempt of worldly riches and honours, we are justified in believing that the poverty to which the Presbyterian clergy were condemned by a grasping and selfish aristocracy had much to do with their over-severity. It would lead them to exclaim against pleasures from which they were excluded by an iron barrier; and then, except in the pulpit, where, correctly and incorrectly, they could enlist the gospel in their service, they were little or nothing, being condemned, through want of worldly means, to a stinted and obscure way of life. In the same manner, the mendicant orders of monks—the Preaching Friars,

* In his 'Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women.'

† On the 11th of November Randolph wrote to Cecil, "It is now called in question whether the queen, being an idolatress, may be obeyed in all civil and political actions. I think marvel of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, stout, and cumbersome people no more substance or power than they have, for then they would run wild."

the Dominicans, and others—were fierce and intolerant against all worldly pomp and pleasure; but when these monastic orders attained ease and competence, and some of them wealth, they became mild and forbearing in these respects. But the Scottish lords, by absorbing nearly the whole of the property of the ancient church, left not enough to remove the asceticism of the new one. These nobles affected surprise, and expressed a very sincere displeasure, when the Presbyterian ministers put in their claim for a share of the monastic and other church property, which, in ways both direct and indirect, had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the aristocracy, in most cases even without any intervention of the court, which was thus deprived of that means of strengthening its party. It was with extreme reluctance that the Scottish statesmen were induced to listen to a proposal that the church revenue should be divided into three shares, to be applied—first, to the decent support of the new clergy; secondly, to the encouragement of learning, by the endowing of schools and colleges; and, thirdly, to the support of the poor. This plan was proposed by the reformed clergy, as a proper method for the rebuilding of the temple: on which the astute Maitland of Lethington asked whether the nobles of Scotland were now to turn hod-bearers in this building of the kirk? John Knox boldly replied that they might find a worse employment, and that those who would not aid in building the House of God should look to the security of the foundations of their own houses. But the eloquence of the vigorous reformer was less prevalent with the iron-clad and iron-handed barons than with the delicate queen of nineteen summers: he could draw no tears from their eyes; and being resolved to keep what they had gotten, they voted his plan of partition to be "a devout imagination,"—a well-meant, but visionary system, which could not possibly be carried into execution. And though, at a later period, the Scottish parliament were obliged to make some provision for the reformed clergy, the appointments were miserably small. A hundred marks Scotch per annum, not quite six pounds

sterling,—an excellent sum to keep men down to the sour point,—was the usual revenue of a parish priest: some few, indeed, got thrice that amount; but the whole sum allowed for the maintenance of the national church, consisting of about one thousand parishes, fell short of four thousand pounds sterling: and even these paltry endowments were irregularly paid, and very much begrudged, by the hungry nobles, who were fattening on the lands with which the piety of their ancestors and of the old kings had enriched to excess the Roman church. It was the very Lords of the Congregation, who had pretended to go hand-in-hand with Knox and his disciples (without whom they would have been crushed), that cut down the allowances to this miserable scale. The Prior of St. Andrew's, the queen's half-brother, and the sworn friend and brother-in-the-spirit of John Knox, thought the clergy well paid with these hod-bearers' stipends; for the levying and paying of which Wishart of Pittarrow, another most zealous reformer, was appointed comptroller. Knox, though not greedy of worldly pelf, was sufficiently loud in his lamentations. "Who would have thought," cried he, "that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren would have come down thither for corn, and returned with their sacks empty?" But his complaints had no more effect than the rumbling of distant thunder; and though the Lords of the Congregation were pretty constant in their attendance at the kirk, they always considered that the preachers departed from the true doctrine when they spoke of worldly goods. And in this manner the Presbyterian clergy continued to be kept in a state of body and mind most favourable to spiritual intemperance. They had already adopted one of the worst practices of the Roman church,—that of persecuting for matters of belief; and they soon took up another,—that of making search and inquest into the private and domestic concerns of men; and it may be doubted whether the confessional chair of the popish priest was a more mischievous or distressing engine than the one which they adopted. Omitting many tedious or revolting details, which all

tend to prove that, if the unfortunate Mary had had all the human virtues in the utmost perfection, she would have failed to satisfy these people so long as she remained a Catholic, we will merely mention one significant fact. During the queen's absence from Holyrood some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into her chapel, defiled the altar, and committed all kinds of indecent outrages. Mary was naturally indignant at this proceeding, and two—*only two*—of the rioters were indicted. Upon this, John Knox wrote circular letters to the faithful,—to men having power and good broadswords,—charging them to come up to Edinburgh and protect their persecuted brethren. Never was crowned head so braved and insulted by bishop or pope, even in the thirteenth century, as was Mary by this oppugner of the Roman tyranny.

While Elizabeth watched with increasing pleasure the turbulence of Mary's subjects, she checked her own with a firm hand, her government being to the full as despotic as that of her father, but infinitely more wise, keeping generally, though not always, in view high national objects. By her frugality she was soon enabled to pay off the great debts of the crown, and to regulate the coinage, which had been debased by her predecessors. She made large purchases of arms on the continent; she introduced, or greatly improved, the arts of making gunpowder and casting cannon; and, what was of foremost importance, she directed her energies to the increase of the naval force, so that she was soon justly entitled to the appellations of Restorer of Naval Glory,—Queen of the Northern Seas.*

But the thread of Elizabeth's career was always of a mingled yarn,—the little, the mean, and the base being mixed with what was great, and noble, and national, and she herself, in the words of her own minister, Robert Cecil, being more than a man, and, in truth, sometimes less than a woman.† She not only dreaded the claims to

* Camden.

† Letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir J. Harington, 1603, published in Dr. H. Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ.

the succession of Mary Queen of Scots, but she was also most jealous of the weaker rights of the line of Suffolk, and she persecuted the Lady Catherine Grey, the heiress of this house, with an unrelenting spirit.

A.D. 1562.—Elizabeth was made to feel, in many ways, that the Catholic princes of Europe regarded her and her proceedings with an evil eye, and to *suspect* that constant machinations were on foot in France to expel her from the throne, and to seat Mary Queen of Scots in her place. She, therefore, resolved to ally herself with the Protestant powers on the continent, and to avail herself to the utmost of the religious animosities of men both at home and abroad. The persecutions practised by Philip and the French court made it easy for her to put herself in a position of great might and reverence, as the head and protector of the Protestant religion. Her course was shaped out by the instinct of self-preservation, and not by any religious zeal; and in pursuing it she was inevitably induced to encourage revolted subjects in their wars with their governments—thus beginning in her own practice the system which she afterwards accused her enemies of carrying on against herself.

France, under the regency of Catherine de' Medici, soon became the seat of confusion and anarchy. The Protestants of the south took up arms for the liberty of conscience; and in 1561 the government consented to a hollow treaty, by which they were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion. But the Duke of Guise, the leader of the Catholic party, soon infringed this treaty, and having possession of the person of the young king, Charles IX., he dictated to the regent, who, however, wanted no stimulus. She was a real bigot, while Guise's religious zeal was more than half feigned and politic. The Protestants, or Huguenots, as they were called in France, flew once more to arms, under the command of the Prince of Condé, the Admiral Coligni, Andelot and others, and fourteen armies were presently in motion in different parts of the kingdom. The success was various—the fury of both parties pretty equal.

The parliament of Paris, which was very orthodox, published an edict, authorising the Catholics everywhere to massacre the Protestants; and the Protestants replied by making sharper the edges of their own swords. Women and children flocked to the ranks on both sides, and partook in the carnage. The Huguenots, notwithstanding their great inferiority in numbers, pressed the Catholics so hard, that the Duke of Guise was fain to solicit aid from Philip II.; and that sovereign, for various reasons besides his desire to check the spread of heresy into his dominions in Flanders, gladly entered into an alliance, and sent six thousand men and some money into France. Upon this, the Prince of Condé, the chief leader of the Huguenots, solicited the assistance and protection of Elizabeth; and he offered to her, as an immediate advantage, possession of the important maritime town of Havre-de-Grace. After some short negotiations, during which Sir Henry Sidney, the able and accomplished father of the more famous Sir Philip Sidney, was sent into France, ostensibly to mediate between the Catholics and Protestants, Elizabeth concluded a compact with the Prince of Condé, furnished him with some money, and then sent over three thousand men, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, to take possession of Havre. No declaration of hostilities was made to the French court, and Elizabeth asserted to the foreign ambassadors that her only object was to serve his majesty of France, and to free him from the hands of the Guises, who, according to her version, held the youth an unwilling prisoner. Soon after his arrival, Poynings was obliged to throw some reinforcements into Rouen, which was besieged by the Catholics under the command of the King of Navarre and the Duke of Montmorency. This detachment was cut to pieces to a man; for the besiegers carried the place by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. But the handful of Englishmen behaved bravely, and, before they met their fate, the Catholic King of Navarre was mortally wounded.* As

* During the siege of Rouen a French gentleman of the

the Huguenots were still strong in Normandy, Elizabeth resolved to reinforce her very small army; and she sent over Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, the elder brother of her favourite, with a fresh force of three thousand men.* Warwick took the command of Havre, and began to fortify that place, which was threatened with a siege by the Duke of Guise, the captor of Calais, the expeller of the English, whose party was strengthened by the odium excited against Condé, for calling the old enemies of his country back to it, and giving them something like a firm footing in it. Havre, indeed, might have been made a second English Calais.

By means of English money, a considerable body of Protestant soldiers were engaged in Germany; and this force and others under the command of Andelot and the Admiral Coligni, obliged Guise to move from the Seine and the neighbourhood of Havre towards the Loire, where the Huguenots were very powerful, possessing the city of Orleans. After a remarkable campaign, during which the Huguenots, under the admiral and Condé, threatened the city of Paris, a fierce battle was fought at Dreux, and the Protestants were defeated. The affair, however, was not very decisive; and, to support Coligni, Elizabeth sent over some more money, and offered to give her bond for a further sum if he could find merchants disposed to lend on such a security.†

A.D. 1563.—At this moment the queen's exchequer was empty, and she was obliged to summon a parliament —a body for the wisdom or authority of which she never testified much respect. Almost as soon as this parliament met, the odious subject of the succession and matrimony was renewed. Elizabeth had just undergone that dangerous disease the small-pox, and, as her life had

Protestant persuasion attempted to assassinate the Duke of Guise.

* Ambrose Dudley, the eldest son of the late Duke of Northumberland, was restored to his father's title of Baron L'Isle, in 1561, and to that of Earl of Warwick in the present year, 1562.

† Holinshed.—Burghley Papers.

been despaired of, people had been made more than ever sensible of the perils likely to arise from a disputed succession. The commons, therefore, voted an address to her majesty, in which, after mentioning the civil wars of former times, they entreated her to choose a husband by God's grace, engaging on their part to serve, honour, and obey the husband of her choice: or if, indeed, her high mind was for ever set against matrimony, they entreated that she would permit her lawful successor to be named and acknowledged by act of parliament. Being thus placed between the sharp horns of a dilemma, and being fully resolved on no account to acknowledge the rights either of Mary Queen of Scots, or of the Lady Catherine Grey, the representative of the Suffolk line, whose children she had just bastardized, she pretended that her resolution of living and dying a virgin was shaken; and, without making anything like a positive declaration, she gave them to understand that she might be induced, for the sake of her people, to think of marriage. Nearly at this moment another suitor appeared in the field. The Duke of Wurtemburg, a German Protestant prince, offered his service to the queen "in case she were minded to marry."

The parliament was obliged to be satisfied with the queen's evasive answer, and to proceed to other business. A most remarkable law they passed was the act of "assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." This was, in effect, an extension of the former acts of supremacy. For asserting twice in writing, word, or deed, the authority of the pope, the offender was subjected to the penalties of treason: all persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy, as were also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in the inns of court, all schoolmasters, officers in court, and members of parliament; and a second refusal of the oath was made treason. By a strange restriction, considering that some of the noblest families were Catholics, the statute did not extend to any man of the rank of a baron, it being assumed, as a convenient fiction, that no doubt could be

entertained as to the fidelity of persons of such rank. All Elizabeth's parliaments were zealously Protestant: in this the House of Commons were sincere; but in the Lords there must have been considerable dissimulation, as the known Catholics seldom made any opposition. In the present session, however, Lord Montacute showed some spirit. He opposed the bill of assurance, and contended, in favour of the English Catholics, that they were loyal and dutiful subjects, neither disputing, nor preaching, nor causing tumults among the people. But Elizabeth could never repose confidence in a sect which could not but believe in her illegitimacy; and the spirit of disloyalty which no doubt existed in many breasts, notwithstanding the assertion of Montacute, was naturally increased and strengthened by these very penal acts directed against them. It is quite certain that Elizabeth never thought of trying the grand and humane experiment; but it would indeed not "be safe to assert that a more conciliating policy would have altogether disarmed their hostility."* An increase of violence produced a seeming conformity; but the Catholics had recourse to what has been justly called the usual artifice of an oppressed people, and met force by fraud. This was the most dangerous of all states; and Elizabeth and Cecil fairly acknowledged that their system of coercion was a failure, when they complained that they could not take the Catholics for good Protestants and loyal subjects, though they constantly attended the Anglican church, and prayed for the queen in the words of the Liturgy. If no force had been adopted,—if the adherents to the old church had been allowed the free exercise of their religion,—the government at least might have known who were Catholics and who were not; but now it was impossible to distinguish between the unwilling converts to force and the willing converts to persuasion, and use, and time. And, as men always hate intensely those who degrade them in their own eyes, or force them to commit acts of subservience and baseness, Elizabeth

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

became more and more an object of detestation to this class. It was during this same session that the law against false prophets was passed, and it was accompanied by a statute against conjuration, enchantments, and witchcraft. It should appear as if the people of England had not yet advanced to a condition in which they could do without a certain pabulum of credulity, and that it was necessary that the superstition which had lost its old food,—such as saints and madonnas and miracles,—should find some new nourishment. In the countries where the common people are fed with legends and miracles, there is little or no belief in witches and ghosts; and, for a long time after the Reformation, the people in most countries seem to have believed in witches and ghosts because they were no longer allowed to believe in saints and miracles. The chronicles remark that the preceding year had been very awful on account of the great number of monstrous births, and probably this was believed to be the effect of witchcraft and conjuration. But all kinds of insane notions were very prevalent. The penal statutes now passed only increased the number of mad prophets, conjurers, and so-called witches. Having voted the queen a supply of a subsidy, and two fifteenths, the parliament was prorogued. Still further to enable the queen to prosecute her continental scheme, which was popular with Protestant churchmen, and with the majority of the nation as being in favour of men who were co-religionists, or nearly so, the convocation of the clergy voted her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years. Apparently some of this money was immediately sent to the Huguenots, and some to the Earl of Warwick, who, however, received strict orders to keep his troops within the walls of Havre, and not to join the Admiral Coligni in the field, who, without his assistance, had reduced most of the places in Normandy which held for the Guises. The admiral, however, complained to Elizabeth of the strange neutrality of her little army, and his complaints became louder when he saw that the Duke of Guise was preparing to crush the Protestants on the Loire, and that he was laying siege to

Orleans with every prospect of taking that city. But soon after Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman of the Huguenot party, and the death of this brave leader and accomplished soldier, which happened on the 24th of February, 1563, induced the French Catholics to offer conditions of peace and reconciliation. The admiral, who knew her well, maintained that there was no trusting the queen-regent Catherine de' Medici; but he was overruled by his associates, and, in the end, another hollow pacification was concluded between the French Protestants and the French Catholics. In this hasty and unwise treaty the Huguenots took little or no care of the interests of the English queen, merely stipulating that if she would give up Havre, her charges and the money she had advanced should be repaid by the French court, and that Calais, at the expiration of the term before fixed should be restored to her. In this instance Elizabeth's anger got the better of her discretion: she sent Warwick orders to defend Havre to the last against the whole French monarchy; for Protestants and Catholics were now alike anxious to see the English out of France. In taking possession of this place the English had expelled nearly all the French inhabitants, so that they had little to fear in that direction. Warwick had about five thousand men with him, and during the siege Sir Hugh Paulet conducted to him a reinforcement of eight hundred. The constable, Montmorency, so recently in alliance with the English, took the command of the besieging army, in which also served the Protestant Prince of Condé, who, more than any one, had led Elizabeth into the late treaty with the Huguenots. The brave Admiral Coligni, who still doubted the good faith of the queen-regent, kept aloof. So important was the enterprise in the eyes of the government that Catherine de' Medici took her son, the young king, with nearly the whole court, to the besieging camp, and called upon all loyal Frenchmen to repair to the siege. In the month of May, notwithstanding some gallant sorties made by the English, the French established themselves in favourable positions round the town, and began to

batter in sundry places. During the whole of the month of June they tried in vain to force an entrance, and they were several times beaten out of their trenches. On the 14th of July the besiegers made an assault with three thousand men, and were repulsed with the loss of four hundred. On the 27th of the same month the French desperately made fresh approaches, and "were made by the English gunners to taste the bitter fruit that the cannon and culverins yielded." On the following day, the 28th of July, 1563, a capitulation was signed, the French agreeing to permit the garrison to depart with their arms, baggage, and whatever goods belonged to the Queen of England or to any of her subjects, and to allow the English six whole days to embark themselves and their property. It was a sad embarkation, the sick and feeble having to carry those who were in a still worse state, and the men in health being exposed to the closest contact with the plague patients, for a pestilence which had broken out among the garrison was none other than the deadly plague. And these plague patients brought the frightful disorder with them into England, where it committed great ravages, spreading into various parts of the kingdom, and raging so fiercely in London that, in the course of the year, it carried off twenty thousand persons. The Catholic party saw in these things a visible manifestation of the wrath of heaven at the changes which had taken place in religion.

This first of Elizabeth's continental wars was sufficiently discouraging, and she readily consented to give up the cause of the Protestants in France, and to conclude a fresh peace with the queen-regent, who was most earnest in detaching her from the Huguenots. A peace signed at Troyes, on the 11th of April, 1564, was shortly after proclaimed, with sound of trumpet before the queen's majesty in her castle of Windsor, the French ambassadors being present. By this new treaty Elizabeth delivered up the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais; but she received two hundred and twenty thousand crowns for their liberation. The questions of the restitution of Calais and other

matters were left in the state they were in before the late hostilities, each party retaining its claims and pretensions, which were to be settled by after negotiation.*

In this interval Scotland had been the scene of many turmoils and more intrigues. The gay, the handsome and accomplished queen gradually gained ground in the affections of the people, notwithstanding the gloomy denunciations of the half-famished preachers; but she was surrounded by a remorseless set of nobles, — a class of men who had rarely lived in peace, even under the government of the hardiest and most skilful of their kings. In 1562, the Duke of Chatelherault's son, the Earl of Arran, accused the Earl of Bothwell and others of a plot to murder the Lord James Stuart and Maitland, in order to get possession of the power which they monopolised between them. It was soon made to appear that Arran was mad; and this unfortunate young nobleman was secured in the castle of Edinburgh. Fresh convulsions were presently excited by the Lord James, who wished to enrich himself at the expense of some of the Catholic lords. To gratify him, the queen, who treated him as her brother, conferred upon him the earldom of Marr and the land belonging to it,—a measure which greatly incensed the powerful Earl of Huntley, who had hitherto occupied, without challenge, some of the estates included in the earldom of Marr. While there was hot blood upon this subject, Sir John Gordon, one of the Earl of Huntley's sons, engaged in the public streets of Edinburgh in an affray with Lord Ogilvie, a friend of the Lord James. The queen caused both these disturbers of the peace of her capital to be placed under arrest; but Sir John Gordon soon escaped out of prison, and fled to his father in the Highlands. The Lord James, who appears to have been only anxious to enter on the estate of Marr under the cover of the royal presence, chose this very moment for conducting his sister on a royal progress to the north. The journey was fatiguing, and the

* Camden.—Rymer

queen everywhere met with a cold reception from the Highland clans, who were accustomed to consider the will of the Earl of Huntley as a thing far above the royal authority. As she advanced apprehensions were even entertained for her personal safety; and all the persons in her retinue, not excepting the foreign ambassadors, did regular duty about her like soldiers, keeping watch and ward against surprise. On her arrival at Inverness the castle was held against her by some of the Gordons. An entrance was obtained by force of arms, and the captain of the little garrison was put to death for a very unequivocal proof of disloyalty. As it was found that Lord Erskine possessed a legal right to the earldom of Marr, Stuart gave up that claim, and took to himself, or induced his sister to give him, the much greater earldom of Murray in its stead. From this time the former prior of St. Andrew's will be designated by the title of Earl of Murray,—a name which was soon made a sound of terror in the queen's ears. If the Earl of Huntley had been enraged before he now became desperate; for he had received a grant of the wealthy earldom of Murray as far back as the year 1548, and had ever since enjoyed the estates belonging to it. He summoned together his vassals and allies, determined to defend his title with the sword. On the 28th of October, while Mary was still in the north, a fierce battle was fought at Corrichie, near Aberdeen, almost under her eyes. Her brother the Earl of Murray, who had hastily collected some Southland men, and won over some of the Highland clans, gained a complete victory. The Earl of Huntley, in flying from the field, was thrown from his horse into a morass, and there smothered: his son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner. The body of the old earl was discovered, and carried before parliament, by which sentence of attainder and forfeiture was pronounced upon it: his son was condemned to the block, and butchered by a clumsy executioner at Aberdeen. The whole of this great family was reduced to beggary; but, five years after, Mary allowed their attainder to be reversed. There is no very satisfactory evidence to establish the fact, but it was gene-

rally said that, if the Earl of Huntley had proved the victor in the battle of Corrichie, he would have seized the queen, and forced her to marry one of his sons.* Reports of this kind, and the circumstance of there being no heir to the crown, made the Scots as anxious about the marriage of their queen as were the English about the marriage of theirs. Nor was there any greater want of suitors in Scotland than in England. Mary had none of her rival's aversions to sharing her authority with a husband, but there was an immense difficulty in the way of a proper choice. Her own inclination would have led her to an alliance with some foreign prince; and her French relations successively proposed to her Don Carlos, then heir of the Spanish monarchy; the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of her late husband; the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had only lately taken deacon's orders; the Duke of Ferrara, and some others. But all these suitors were odious to the mass of the Scottish nation, as Catholics; and Elizabeth let it be understood that any alliance of that kind, as opening the way for her foreign enemies to her dominions, would occasion an immediate war with England. Mary, though urged on by the princes of the House of Guise, was not disposed to provoke this danger, and she even condescended to consult with Elizabeth, as to a choice which might be alike agreeable to both countries. In the summer of 1563 a personal interview at York between the two queens was spoken of; but Elizabeth, from various motives, the least of which was not her jealousy of her rival's superiority in beauty, artfully put off the meeting till the next year; and, in fact, she never met Mary at all. In order to detach Don Carlos from his pursuit, she held out hopes of renewing an old treaty, and of marrying him herself. In her anxiety to conciliate, and to secure her succession to the

* Cecil makes his intentions much more terrible. On the 4th of December he writes, "The son of the Earl of Huntley has confessed that his father intended *to burn* the Queen of Scotland in her residence, and to put the crown on the head of the duke, who is entirely dependent on him."—*Lansd. MS., quoted by Raumer and others.*

English throne in case of Elizabeth's dying without issue, Mary despatched Sir James Melville to London, in order to ascertain, if possible, what kind of a husband it was that would give entire satisfaction to her grace. All this condescension and frankness—for the Scottish queen, to all appearance, honestly meant to abide by Elizabeth's decision—was met with fraud and the most artful duplicity. Elizabeth proposed, as a fitting husband, her own favourite, the Lord Robert Dudley, who, on the 29th of September, 1563, attained to his well-known title of Earl of Leicester. Mary, who could not have been ignorant of so notorious a fact as the attachment which Elizabeth had for this showy nobleman, must have seen that he was only named to lengthen and embarrass these delicate negotiations. Nor was the Earl of Leicester, who had little to recommend him beyond his handsome person, in any way a suitable match for that queen.

The man whom Elizabeth thus delighted to honour enjoyed a very bad reputation among the people, who, with a sad confidence, anticipated his marriage with the queen.* It was believed that, in the fulness of his hope that Elizabeth would marry him, he had murdered a young and beautiful wife, whose death was certainly attended with very mysterious circumstances. According to a striking account, which, whether wholly correct or not, conveys perfectly the popular opinion of the time,—"as his own wife stood in his light, as he supposed, he did but send her to the house of his servant Foster, of Cumnor, by Oxford, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a pair of stairs, and so to break her

* A contemporary says, with more force than elegance,—"You know the bear's love is all for his own paunch, and this bear-whelp turneth all to his own commodity, and for greediness thereof will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzzled in time."—*Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester.* These memoirs were written during the favourite's life, and at the moment when people most feared the queen would marry him. They remained in MS. till 1706, when they were published by Dr. Drake.

neck; but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir Richard Varney, who, by commandment, remained with her that day alone with one man, and had sent away per force all her servants from her to a market two miles off—he, I say, with his man, can tell you how she died."* The stars had been consulted by order of the great Cecil, who either was not too wise a man to give credit to astrology, or meant that his mistress should be the dupe of a very prevailing superstition; and the stars had told that the queen should be married in the thirty-first year of her age to a foreigner, and bear one son, who would be a very great prince, and one daughter, who would be a very great princess. But the queen, who, we are convinced, thought not of marrying at all, continued her strange coquetry with Leicester; and Cecil's stars were fairly put out by more popular prophecies, which Leicester purposely encouraged, about the bear and ragged staff. The queen's ill-placed partiality to this bold bad man had excited alarm in various quarters; and nearly three years before she advanced him to the rank of Earl of Leicester, and gave him Kenilworth Castle, the report of his having murdered his wife had been made known to her majesty. Nay, even Cecil, who for a long time stood in dread that Elizabeth would give her hand to Leicester, and who subsequently contrived to renew the matrimonial treaty with the Archduke Charles of Austria, in order to prevent this fatal measure, made a memorandum, which was probably shown to her majesty, of the earl's being "in-

* *Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester.* The author of this very curious piece adds:—"This man, being afterwards taken for a felony in the marches of Wales, and offering the matter of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison: and Sir Richard Varney himself, [*the exquisite villain of Scott's touching story*] died about the same time in London, cried piteously, and blasphemed God, and said to a gentleman of worship, of my acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the devils in hell did tear him to pieces. The wife also of Baldwin Butler, kinsman to my lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death."

famed by death of his wife," and being "far in debt," besides other demerits.* And yet Elizabeth did not change her conduct, and Leicester still felt such high hopes as to quarrel with all who favoured the Austrian match.

To return to Mary's ambassador, whose head, clear as it was, seems to have been made giddy by matches and counter-matches, and female jealousies and intrigues, Melville proceeds to state, that Elizabeth expressed a great desire to see Queen Mary; and, as this could not hastily be brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty's picture.

The Earl of Leicester conveyed Melville in his barge from Hampton Court to London. On their way he asked the wary Scot what his mistress thought of him for a husband. "Whereunto," says Melville, "I answered very coldly, as I had been by my queen commanded: and then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence as to marry so great a queen, declaring that he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes, and that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy: for if I, said he, should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the queens, and lost their favour." It is difficult to receive, as a sincere declaration, anything that fell from the lips of that dexterous courtier,† the Earl of Leicester—most difficult, where all were playing parts, and all consummate actors, to ascertain the real project in hand. It appears, however, almost certain, that the presumptuous favourite had not yet given up all

* Burghley State Papers. In this curious minute Cecil says that, if Elizabeth marries Leicester, "it will be thought that the scandalous speeches of the queen with the earl have been true." He also says that Leicester was "like to prove unkind or jealous of the queen's majesty." Catherine de' Medici gave an unpardonable offence by asking publicly whether it were true that the Queen of England meant to marry her horse-keeper? Leicester was then master of the horse.

† Rusé courtisan.—Mezeray.

hopes of marrying Elizabeth; and he was certainly the man to prefer her, with the rich and great kingdom of England, to her more youthful and far more beautiful rival, with so poor and turbulent a kingdom as Scotland. It has been suggested by an elegant writer,* who has shown great tact in tracing some of the windings and intricacies of Elizabeth's character, that she encouraged this matrimonial project purely as a romantic trial of Leicester's attachment to herself, and pleased her fancy with the idea of his rejecting for her a younger and a fairer queen; and this notion not only accords with the virgin queen's taste and manners, but also with the project she evidently entertained of perplexing Mary, and delaying her marriage with any one else.

Melville returned to Scotland, and found himself bound to assure his mistress that she could never expect any real friendship from Elizabeth, whose professions were full of falsehood and dissimulation. Mary's subjects, being very anxious for an heir to the throne, grew weary of these long delays, and a strong party pointed out another match which had many things to recommend it. Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, was first cousin to Mary, and second cousin to Elizabeth, being the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, by the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Queen-dowager Margaret, sister of King Henry VIII., by the Earl of Angus, the second husband of that unruly and dissolute woman. In other words, he was the son of Mary's aunt (by the half-blood), the Lady Margaret Douglas, and the grandson of Elizabeth's aunt, Margaret Tudor. The Earl of Lennox, it will be remembered, besides stealing the French money, and attempting to betray Dumbarton Castle, adhered steadily to the English interests, for which he suffered banishment and the forfeiture of all his estates in Scotland. He retired to England, which had been his home ever since—a comfortable home, for Henry VIII., in recompense, not only gave him the hand of his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, but also some good estates in Yorkshire. Henry

* Aikin.

lord Darnley had been born and brought up in England, and even his mother, the Lady Margaret, countess of Lennox, was a native English woman, having been born just after the expulsion, in 1515, of her parents from Scotland. With this lady it should appear that the Queen of Scots had for some time maintained an amicable correspondence; for, when she despatched Melville to the English court, she instructed him to deal with my Lady Margaret and with sundry friends she had in England of different opinions.* To the crown of Scotland the Lennox family could lay no prospective claim; but if, according to a notion not altogether abandoned in that age, a male were to be held as in all circumstances coming before a female representative, Henry lord Darnley, the son of this Margaret countess of Lennox, might, in case of failure of the issue of Henry VIII., have advanced a claim to the English throne, which was capable of being placed in competition with the claim of Queen Mary herself; and hence the desire of strengthening the pretensions of the Queen of Scots by uniting the two claims. But this union excited painful feelings in the breast of Elizabeth, who liked not to think of any one succeeding her, but who seems to have entertained a horror of the notion of the succession falling to Mary, whom she evidently hated more as a woman than as a sovereign. And yet even here she adopted no clear course, but, on the contrary, as if she foresaw the fatal results, she played into the hands of the Lennox family, and permitted things which she might have prevented, and which led directly to the union. When the Earl of Lennox applied for leave to go to Scotland, to solicit the reversal of his attainder, and to press his wife's claim as heir female to the earldom of Angus, she gave her royal licence, and apparently with pleasure. After twenty years of exile, Lennox arrived in Scotland, where Queen Mary received him very courteously, and procured from the Scottish Parliament the reversal of the attainder with restitution of his estates. His lady's claim on the earldom of Angus

* Melville.

was given up—for it was held to be a male fief, and what was worse, it was in the tenacious grasp of the powerful Earl of Morton, the chancellor, who managed it in the name of his nephew Archibald Douglas;* but the queen's liberality softened the pang of this disappointment. The attainder was scarcely reversed, when the exiled lord began to adopt measures for placing his son Henry by Mary's side on the throne.

A few weeks after Cecil's writing that Elizabeth was averse to the match, and had again put forward Leicester, she permitted Henry lord Darnley, "the tall lad," to go to Scotland. Darnley was an English subject, and it would have been no extraordinary stretch of prerogative in those days to have prevented his journey, if Elizabeth had been so minded. Darnley set sail for Scotland in the beginning of the year 1565, and on the 16th of February he waited upon Queen Mary at Wemyss Castle, in Fife, where he was most courteously received. Though so very tall, he was well proportioned, and altogether a handsome young man. He was in his twentieth year; the queen three years older. He possessed all the courtly accomplishments of the times,—was gallant, showy, and liberal of his money, with which he was well supplied from England. He thus readily won the good will of Mary's courtiers and attendants, and made a favourable impression on her own heart; so that personal regards united with political ones to recommend this fatal marriage. But, according to a contemporary account, it was afterwards ascertained that there was magic used to charm the queen.† It appears, however, that notwithstanding

* But Morton and Archibald Douglas, who afterwards were both engaged in the murder of Darnley, never forgave the Lennoxes this attempt.

† *L'Innocence de la tres Illustre, tres chaste et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie, Reine d'Escosse, etc.* This curious defence of Mary's conduct was published at Paris, in 1572, while she was lingering in captivity in England. For the most part it is a piece of special pleading, but there is in it evidence of a minute acquaintance with the events and characters of the times.

this charm, and the more real charm of Darnley's person and manners, the queen, at first, gave his suit a modest repulse, and avoided committing herself until she had consulted with her half-brother and others. Darnley was not discouraged, nor did he disdain to seek, by flatteries and other means, the countenance of David Rizzio, the queen's favourite and private secretary. The Earl of Murray did not oppose the match at this time, and it was recommended by Maitland. Indeed, according to one account given by the party most friendly to Mary,* her half-brother had planned the match, and pressed her into it, hoping to retain his great power in the government if she married a young, inexperienced, and thoughtless youth. The estates of the kingdom were assembled at Stirling, in the month of May, and the business being formally proposed to them, they also recommended the marriage—the Lord Ochiltree alone refusing his consent, and professing openly that he could never agree to a king who was a Roman Catholic—for the Earl of Lennox, notwithstanding some temptations to change, had adhered to the old religion, and had brought up his son in the same faith.†

When intelligence of these proceedings reached the English court, Elizabeth was, or feigned to be, wonderfully incensed, and her privy council drew up a list of imaginary dangers attending such a union. Maitland, who was despatched by Queen Mary to London to explain matters, met with a bad reception; and Sir Nicholas

* See Note, p. 106.

† Whitaker, however, contends that both Darnley and his father at this time, and for the rest of their lives, at least *professed* Protestantism.—Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated, 2nd Edit. 1790; vol. iii. pp. 135, 136. It should rather appear from some expressions in the letters of Randolph, that Darnley was only a *suspected* papist at the most. Probably the true state of the case is to be best collected from one of these letters, in which Randolph says that "my Lord Darnley would seem to be indifferent: sometimes he goeth with the queen to the mass, and these two last days hath been at the sermons."

Throgmorton was sent down to Edinburgh to declare her English majesty's discontent at the projected match. This skilful negotiator returned well rewarded; but he had been unable to dissuade Mary from the marriage, which, as he told Cecil and his mistress, was "misliked of all the substance of the realm." An important part of his mission was to intrigue with the Earl of Murray and the discontented Protestant lords, and to promise them Elizabeth's assistance against their queen. "I think," says Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith on Throgmorton's return, "that my Lady Lennox shall be committed to some further custody; and my lords, her husband and son, shall forfeit that they may [have] here with us; and because it is likely their foundation in England is upon Papists, the Protestants here shall receive more comfort, and the Papists more disgrace."* A few days after this was written the Countess of Lennox and her younger son were committed to a rigorous confinement in the Tower, and all the property possessed by that family in England was seized by Elizabeth. Mary, it appears, had assured Sir Nicholas Throgmorton that the match had proceeded too far to be set aside with honour; and she took considerable pains to prove that Henry Darnley possessed those recommendations which Elizabeth had demanded as essentials in the husband she should choose. He was, for example, an Englishman; and Elizabeth had set it down as a primary point that she should marry an Englishman. She even offered to delay the nuptials, if, by so doing, she might hope to obtain the approbation of her dear sister and cousin. But farther she would not go; nor could more in reason be expected from a high-spirited woman and an independent sovereign. This correspondence by letters and ambassadors occupied some time; and the fatal marriage of Mary and Darnley was far from being so precipitate an affair as it is generally represented. Elizabeth had now

* Letter in Ellis and Wright. Darnley had boasted, like a fool, that if there were war with England he and Mary should have more friends there than Elizabeth!

recourse to her old intrigues with her old friends the Lords of the Congregation; and these lords, who had been prepared by Throgmorton, turned a willing ear to her suggestions, beginning to rumour abroad that there would be no safety for the Protestant religion if the Catholic queen were allowed to have a Catholic husband. It suited this party not to heed the facts that Mary was no bigot, and that Darnley was little more than a papist in appearance.* The first to fall from the young queen's side was her own half-brother, the Earl of Murray, who of a sudden became jealous of young Darnley, imagining that, young and thoughtless as he was, he had betrayed an inclination to abridge both his political power and his vast estates. There were plenty to drive on Darnley in this direction. One showed a map of Scotland and the possessions of Murray marked upon it. Darnley said it was too much. His words were repeated to make mischief; but Mary, to make peace, "willed Darnley to excuse himself to Murray."† The earl had quarrelled with John Knox, who had accused him of conniving at the queen's masses and idolatries; but now a sudden reconciliation took place between the crafty politician and the zealous preacher, Murray engaging to extirpate the false worship for ever. The Duke of Chatelherault, who was as prone to change and intrigue as ever, soon joined Murray; and Glencairn, the earl of Argyle, and others, speedily followed his example, forming a confederacy to oppose the marriage upon the grounds of the dangers it would bring to religion, and the inconveniences it would draw upon the state. Meanwhile the preachers were not idle; and the devout citizens of Edinburgh, inflamed

* Although Darnley, as mentioned in a preceding note, after his marriage, occasionally attended the Presbyterian kirk, in the view, no doubt, of conciliating that formidable body, they were only to be softened by a formal conversion; and John Knox did not hesitate to tell him, from the pulpit, that God, when in anger at the sins of a people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women.

† Letter from Randolph, quoted by Raumer.

by their discourses, made a great tumult. Upon Mary's return from Stirling to her capital, the Assembly of the Kirk, countenanced by the Earl of Murray, demanded by a formal act that the queen should conform to the Protestant faith, and abolish the Roman worship throughout the realm, not only amongst her subjects, but in her own person and family. This proposal was followed by some more reasonable clauses respecting a better provision for the miserably poor Presbyterian clergy; and the document ended by entreating or commanding the young queen to suppress immediately in her realm all vice and immorality. To these demands the queen returned a gentle answer in writing. As to the mass, she said that she was not yet convinced that it was idolatrous: she desired all her loving subjects not to urge her to act against her conscience, as she had neither in times past obliged, nor intended for the future to oblige, any man to a forced compliance, but had granted to all liberty to serve God after their own persuasion. She promised to do her best to relieve the wants of the established clergy. But she had not sufficient confidence in her own royal power to engage that there should be no more vice and immorality in Scotland, and she left that particular clause unanswered.

A series of dark plots and conspiracies were meanwhile set on foot by both parties, for Mary had still a powerful party that recommended the marriage. Darnley, who showed his true character betimes, *is said* to have made arrangements for assassinating the Earl of Murray; and Murray (this fact is positive), in conjunction with the Earl of Argyle and other lords, encouraged by the English queen, laid an ambush for the purpose of making Darnley, his father, and the queen prisoners, with the intention of delivering up the two former to Elizabeth, and placing Mary in some sure prison in Scotland. Both plots failed; and on the 28th of July, Darnley having previously been created Earl of Ross and Duke of Rothsay, was proclaimed king at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and the next day he was married to the queen,

according to the Catholic ritual, in the royal chapel at Holyrood House.* The Earl of Murray, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, who had already garrisoned their castles and purchased (*with English money*) much ammunition, flew to arms; but, before they could assemble their forces, the queen in person met them at the head of a royal army. Mary, who took the field before the honeymoon was past, was clad in light armour, and carried pistols at her saddle-bows. Her quickness and decision disconcerted the "godly lords," who, without facing her, began to retreat, marching rapidly from place to place, and fighting nowhere; so that this strange campaign got the name of the "Round-about-Raid."† In the end, notwithstanding their turning and doubling, they were fain to disband their forces and flee into England. As they had taken up arms at the instigation of Elizabeth, they made sure of her aid and protection; and Murray and Hamilton, the noble Abbot of Kilwinning, posted up to London to explain. But the English queen had seldom a very lively sympathy for the weak and unfortunate; and by this time, what with her succouring the Huguenots in France,

* Randolph says, "they were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he (Darnley) heard not the mass." Banns of marriage had been proclaimed previously at the proper parish church (that of the Canongate). There were two proclamations regarding Darnley's royal dignity: by the first, set forth the day *before* the marriage, it was ordered that he should be styled *king*, and treated as such: by the second, which was issued the day *after* the marriage, it was directed that the queen's husband should be styled *king*, and that all public documents should run in *his* name and hers, as King and Queen of Scotland. As Darnley was proclaimed no man said so much as Amen, saving his father, that said aloud, "God save his grace!"—Letter from Randolph to Leicester.

† This curious campaign is happily described in a few words in old French—*Tout ainsi armés qu' ilz estoient, ilz alloient par le pais Escossois* CONNILLANS (burrowing like rabbits,) *de place en place, jusqu'à tant qu'ils arriverent en Angleterre.*—L'Innocence, &c.

and, over and over again, the insurgents in Scotland, she had obtained among crowned heads a character which she was anxious to be rid of. The French and Spanish ambassadors, and the envoys of other powers, had loudly complained that she was setting a fatal example, by countenancing rebellions and insurrections, and betraying the cause of sovereigns in general. Among living monarchs there was not one that entertained higher notions of the regal dignity, or who was less tolerant of popular discontents at home. She was stung to the quick by these remonstrances, and being, besides, fearful of provoking a coalition against her, she absolutely refused to receive the two envoys unless they agreed to declare publicly that she had in nowise incited them to the late insurrection, and that there neither was nor had been any correspondence or understanding between her and them. The Earl of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning, who probably knew perfectly well that this was only to throw dust in the eyes of foreign courts, agreed to say whatever she chose. Then the adroit Elizabeth admitted them to an audience, at which she took care that the French and Spanish ambassadors should be present. And when the two Scots had finished their solemn declaration exculpating *her*, she turned short upon them, saying, "You have now spoken the truth; for neither I, nor any in my name, hath instigated your revolt from your sovereign. Begone, like traitors as ye are."*

* Cecil has given an account in his own way of this remarkable audience. According to him, Murrry testified before God that he only meant, in all his doings, the honour of the Almighty and the preservation of the Protestant religion; and Elizabeth "spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors," saying "that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against the prince. For, besides the offence of her conscience, which should condemn her, she knew that Almighty God might justly recompense her with the like trouble in her own realm; and so brake off with her speech any further with him."

The noble and quasi-royal Murray, and the high-born Kilwinning went; but it was only to the southern side of the Scottish borders, where Elizabeth not only suffered them to skulk and to correspond with the factious in Scotland, but also supplied them with money. Mary, however, was strong in the affections of a portion of her people, and she proceeded with spirit against the fugitive lords: they were summoned to appear, and, failing to do so, were declared rebels. One Tamworth, a dependent of the Earl of Leicester, was sent down to Scotland with a special mission: Mary, who must have known the encouragement which the English court had given to her half-brother and the rest, "refused utterly that Queen Elizabeth should meddle to compound the controversies between her subjects and her." In order not to recognise Darnley as king, Tamworth did not apply for a pass, for the want of which he was very properly arrested by Mary's authorities on his return homeward. Randolph, who stayed, ventured to tell Mary that she could be sure of Queen Elizabeth if she would. The queen replied that she had not begun this quarrel, adding,—"It was *her* fault, for I demanded those things in Lord Leicester that were fit, and she refused. This man that I have taken hath a *right*—a *right*—he (Leicester) had none! For your part, Mr. Randall, you hold intelligence with my rebels, especially Murray, against whom I will be revenged, should I lose my crown." For this rage against her half-brother—and we have only partial evidence to prove that it was so vehement, and we know by positive facts that it was not lasting—there should seem to be sufficient ground in the Earl of Murray's conduct. Almost the first use that Mary made of her royal authority was to aggrandise and enrich the Bastard; she had placed in his hands nearly the whole power of the government,—she had consulted his wishes in all matters, and yet he had taken up arms against her, had allied himself with her enemies, and had aimed at depriving her both of her crown and her liberty. The subject, real or pretended, of the quarrel was one nearest to a woman's heart; and if, as there are grounds for believing, Murray had at first proposed, or

strongly recommended, the match with Darnley, his conduct in making that marriage the pretext of his rebellion was surely to the fullest degree embittering and exasperating. And yet in spite of these grounds of wrath —the greater part of which were as clear as the sun at noon-day,—the English agent alludes in mysterious terms to some secret and disgusting causes for Mary's enmity. And here we may remark that Randolph, who was a scandal-monger of the first order, must have known that there was a taste for such dark rumours in the English court, and that Elizabeth encouraged indecent scandals and reports,—things which were afterwards turned against herself.*

Mary convoked a parliament for the purpose of attainting Murray and his associates, and procuring the consequent forfeiture of their estates; but it was presently seen both that her vengeance was not implacable, and that most of the fugitive lords were quite ready to purchase pardon by abject submission. These lords, indeed, who had co-operated but not coalesced, had soon disagreed in their misfortunes. Their leaders, the Earl of Murray and the Duke of Chatelherault, had rebelled upon very different principles,—Murray, with an eye to the keeping or increasing his authority, and Chatelherault with an eye to the succession, for he was still generally acknowledged as the next heir to the throne after Mary. The duke, that man of many changes, was made of more pliable materials than the earl, and was the first to negotiate with the queen, who before the assembling of parliament had promised him and his party a separate pardon. Murray's friends then applied in his behalf, and some of

* It would not be difficult to fill a large volume with the attacks made on the virtue of the virgin queen and the chastity of her court by contemporary writers. These things were chiefly, but not entirely, composed by English papists who had been driven in exile into France and Spain, and who represented Elizabeth as a monster of impudicity! and the Catholics generally gave as much credit to their accounts as the Protestants gave to the scandals reported by Buchanan and others touching Queen Mary's virtue.

Mary's partisans in England recommended to her as a wise step, and as one likely to please all Protestants in both kingdoms, an immediate amnesty in favour of him and his party, who were men celebrated throughout the island for their zeal for the reformed doctrines. The queen was ready to sign a free pardon, when her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was in many respects her evil genius, and to whose wisdom and experience she always paid great deference, advised her against the measure, and she allowed the proceedings to go on in the parliament. There was another matter, however, which she had more at heart, and that was to procure some degree of toleration for the Catholics, and for herself the exercise of her religion without insults and tumults. During the preceding festival of Easter a Catholic priest had been seized by the people in the act of saying mass, and with his sacerdotal habit and a chalice of the sacramental wine tied to his hand, he had been bound to the market-cross of Edinburgh, and there pelted with filth and mud, which the Knoxites called serving him with his Easter eggs. The greatest zealot against popery of the present day will surely excuse Mary for attempting to put an end to outrages such as this; but whether it were that the intolerance of her people provoked a reaction or (which was more likely) that she was drawn in by her uncle the cardinal, Mary took another step of a more questionable nature, and joined the great Catholic alliance, which was headed by France and Spain, and had been carried to an iniquitous height of cruelty and treachery by a meeting of Roman bigots at Bayonne, in 1564. It may, however, be said, in palliation, that Mary was doubtless ignorant of the extent of this foul confederacy against religious liberty as well as of the atrocious means intended, and that the power and ill-humour of Elizabeth absolutely drove her into the arms of the ancient allies of Scotland, who now, on account of religion, could no longer be acceptable allies to her people.

A.D. 1566.—Mary forbade Randolph her court, alleging, upon good grounds, that, though ostensibly the ambassador of a friendly power, he had taken part with her

rebels and assisted them with money; but this sharp-eyed agent had everywhere Scotchmen in his pay, and he had learned all about the secret negotiations with France and Spain, and had communicated the intelligence to Cecil and Elizabeth.

Meanwhile the Scottish parliament proceeded in their measures against the Earl of Murray and the other fugitives from the "Round-about-Raid," and no doubt was entertained of their convicting them, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped and an entirely new course given to Mary's wrath by a savage murder, directed by her husband. The love between Mary and Henry Darnley was of the briefest duration; and it is established beyond a doubt that its first interruption was entirely owing to the misconduct and brutality of the husband. This vain and shallow young man had his head turned by his sudden elevation, and there were not wanting plotting men who, for their own purposes, encouraged his extravagance and dissipation. Before he had been married two months his insolence and arrogance drove away from the court even his own father, the Earl of Lennox, who is said to have predicted that some fearful catastrophe would follow.* Acting under the persuasion of ill-

* On the 1st of September, 1565, little more than a month after the marriage, we find Cecil writing to a friend, "The young king is so insolent as his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the court!"—Ellis. But even before he was elevated to the queen's side, Randolph told Cecil,—"Darnley's behaviour is such that he is despised. ..... What shall become of him I know not; *but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people.* The queen herself being of better understanding, seeks to frame and fashion him to the temper of her subjects; but no persuasion can change that (which) custom has made natural to him. He is reckoned proud, disdainful, and suspicious, which kind of men this soil (Scotland), of any other, can worse bear."—Original Letter, quoted by Raumer. Here we find the English agent speaking of the very probable assassination of Darnley by *the subjects* at the time when *the queen*, according to his account, was passionately in love with him; and Randolph, here and in many other passages writ-

designing men, the foremost of whom was the Earl of Morton, the chancellor of Scotland, who represented to him that it was absurd that the queen should bear rule over him, since both nature and the law of God required that the wife should be in subjection to her husband, he pretended to rule in his own right, and imperiously claimed the whole authority of government. Mary, who would hardly yield to violence, might have conceded much to affection; but, almost from the first week of his marriage, he neglected the handsome queen and gave himself up to low indulgences. Where all eyes were watchful, and most eyes desirous of such an event, it was impossible to conceal this disagreement. Elizabeth's agents diligently reported the progress of the wretched broil.

The effect of this conduct on a high-spirited woman was inevitable: Mary became weary of the society of the drunkard and brawler, who would threaten her servants and draw his dagger in her presence, and somewhat checked that liberality with which she had heaped money and honours upon him. The imbecile Darnley, who would not see the provocation and insupportable insults he had given, conceived that the queen's favour must have been alienated from him by some person having an influence over her heart; and it appears that certain noble lords who had taken offence at the favourite, or were anxious to drive matters to extremities, suggested or strengthened the suspicion that this individual was Rizzio, the queen's secretary. David Rizzio had come to Scotland, a short time before this wretched marriage, in the suite of Morata, the ambassador of Savoy: he was a person of what was called low birth, but he had been exceedingly well educated, and, among many other accomplishments, was an excellent musician. Mary's love for music amounted to a passion—good musicians were rare in Scotland—and she was naturally attracted to the accomplished Italian, who soon evinced other and higher

ten at a later period, certainly describes Darnley as one not at all likely to have a long life among such people.

abilities than those of playing and singing. His knowledge of languages was particularly useful for carrying on her foreign correspondence; and when her French secretary left her, she promoted him to that confidential office, which, of necessity, occasioned his being constantly about the queen's person. It was instantly deemed a crime that the queen should employ a foreigner in duties for which there were probably no natives that were fit; and the proud nobles, who despised literary attainments and accomplishments which they did not possess themselves, considered the Signor David as nothing but a base-born fiddler, and were highly incensed at the favour and confidence reposed in him. Sometimes they would rudely shoulder him, and make grim faces at him in the very presence-chamber; but still at other times, some of them would not scruple to cajole and flatter him, and make him presents when they had favours to ask of the queen. It is said that Rizzio was intoxicated with his promotion, and showed pride and ostentation. It is probable that there was some truth in the accusation; and it is certain, that those who afterwards accused him, fostered these feelings by their baseness and truckling to him; but yet there is good evidence to show that the poor Italian saw his position in its true light, and was anxious for more security with a little less honour. He lamented to the ingenuous Melville, who was now constantly at Mary's court, that the favour and confidence of the queen exposed him to envy and danger.* For a long time there was not so much as a hint breathed of there being any immorality in the queen's predilections; and, according to tradition, David Rizzio was not the sort of person likely to excite a criminal and dangerous passion, being ill favoured, if not deformed in his person, and considerably advanced in years.

Rizzio was, as we have mentioned, a confidant of Darnley when that young man began his courtship of the queen; and it appears that he forwarded Darnley's suit with whatever power he possessed. When Darnley

* Melville's Memoirs.

arrived at the Scottish court Rizzio had only been two months in Mary's service. Mary's affection for Darnley was immediate, and it lasted till the latter forfeited it by his gross misconduct, Rizzio being all the time neither more nor less about the queen than before and after. According to the account of those least prejudiced against Mary, Darnley's savage hatred of the Italian arose not from any love-jealousy, but from the favourite's taking the liberty to remonstrate with him on his treatment of the queen, and from his being suspected by Darnley of advising the queen never to bestow on him the matrimonial crown. These grounds of hatred, which in a man like Darnley were quite sufficient to account for what followed, are made prominent even in the accounts of those who are disposed to take the worst view of the queen's conduct; but *they* add to them, as another incentive to the murder, the passion of jealousy, which, according to their showing, there were suspicious circumstances to justify. Whatever were his motives, when Darnley spoke of revenge to some of the nobles, he found them disposed to encourage the feeling, and unscrupulous as to the means to be adopted for its gratification. They all hated the favourite; some perhaps the more, because they had debased themselves before him; and as several hot Presbyterians engaged in the plot, some of them, no doubt, thought that it would be a very meritorious deed to murder a man who corresponded in the queen's name with the Pope of Rome.* Among the latter was the fierce Lord Ruthven,—a nobleman in good favour with the Lords of the Congregation and the preachers,—who rose from a bed of sickness to have a principal hand in the bloody deed. The Earl of Morton, who had encouraged Darnley's pretensions to the matrimonial crown, and who was still chancellor of the kingdom, though

* Rizzio's grand crimes were his country and his religion. The preachers called him "imp of the devil," "minion of anti-christ," &c. According to the Diary of Birrel, a citizen of Edinburgh, Rizzio was also a magician and sorcerer.

suspecting, on his part, that Mary meant to take the seals from him, and give them to her Italian secretary, engaged all the rest of the Douglases, legitimate or illegitimate, to take up the quarrel of their *kinsman*,—for Darnley, as a descendant of the Earl of Angus, was of Douglas blood,—and it perfectly agreed with their family notions that Darnley should be king in his own right, and supreme over Mary. But there were still various other motives actuating some of the conspirators, who wished to stop the proceedings in parliament,—to recal the Earl of Murray, with the other banished lords, whom they considered as the champions of the kirk, and who were excessively jealous of the Earl of Bothwell, who, after a variety of adventures, including a short exile, had been recalled to court. This turbulent, dangerous man, of an ancient and powerful family, and hereditary lord high admiral of Scotland, was recommended to Mary, notwithstanding his profession of Protestantism, by his constant adherence to her mother the queen-regent, and by his seemingly steady and disinterested devotion to her own interests. These, indeed, were circumstances apt to make her overlook his extravagance and the other defects of his impetuous character; but when Mary's half-brother, the Earl of Murray, accused Bothwell of an attempt to assassinate him, he found no protection from the queen, and was obliged to fly the country. He returned in 1564-5, maintaining his innocence. Murray insisted on his being brought to trial, and proposed attending the justice court with five thousand men in arms. Feeling that an accuser with such witnesses was not to be faced, Bothwell fled over to France a second time, and there remained till Murray's disgrace and flight, when Mary recalled him, and gave him the command of all the Scottish marches: and, according to Mary's own account of the dark transaction, Lord Ruthven, with his dagger still reeking with the Italian's blood, told her that they had done the deed because she maintained the ancient religion, refused to receive the fugitive lords, maintained friendship with foreign princes and nations, and received

into her council the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors and allies of Rizzio.*

These noble lords, however, were determined to make the act appear as Darnley's, and to obtain what they might represent as royal, if not legal authority. They made Darnley sign a solemn document, in which he took the conspirators under his especial protection. Mary was at this time seven months advanced in pregnancy with her first and only child; and it has been not unreasonably concluded that it was intended to cause the death of more persons than the unfortunate favourite; for, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to commit the murder before her very eyes whilst she was in this critical condition. The bloody bond was signed on the 1st or the 5th of March: on the 9th of the same month, at seven o'clock in the evening, just as the queen was finishing her supper, and quietly conversing with the Countess of Argyle and Arthur Erskine, the governor of Holyrood House, who sat at table with her, while Rizzio was seated at his meal at a side table, according to his usual custom when he was in waiting, and while several attendants, male and female, were in the room or the apartment adjoining, the king suddenly entered, and, placing himself behind the queen, gazed savagely on the secretary. In the next minute Darnley was followed by the Lord Ruthven, pale and ghastly from recent disease and present spite, and in complete armour. Close on Ruthven's steps stalked several other conspirators, all in armour like himself. Darnley spoke not a word, but Ruthven, in a hollow voice, bade Rizzio rise and come forth, for the place he sat in did not become him. Perceiving what was meant, the queen started up, and asked her husband whether he knew anything of this foul attempt; and, on his denying it, she commanded Lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit her presence. The poor Italian, in the mean while, had run behind the queen's table, and now, seizing the queen by the skirts

* Queen Mary's letter to Elizabeth, as given by Keith and Chalmers.

of her garment, implored her protection, and cried aloud for justice. But Ruthven and his satellites overturned the table upon the queen and the secretary, and then Darnley held the queens arms, telling her that their business was only with the secretary, while the rest of the murderers dragged Rizzio from his hold. Then George Douglas, a bastard of the Angus family, pulling out the king's own dagger, struck Rizzio with it, and with so deadly a blow that he left the weapon up to its hilt in the body of the victim. The tears and entreaties of Mary, the shrieks of the Countess of Argyle and the servants, made no more impression on the hearts of these men than on their steel breast-plates: while some stood before the queen with cocked pistols (and one of them named Andrew Ker,* is said to have presented his pistol close to her body, swearing that he would destroy both her and the child within her), the others dragged Rizzio into the ante-chamber, and there despatched him with fifty-six wounds. While this savage deed was doing, Morton, the chancellor of Scotland, whose special duty it was to protect and enforce the laws, kept the doors of the palace with a number of armed men, in order to prevent any one entering to succour the queen. As long as there was life in the victim, or a hope of life, Mary implored and wept, offering to give up Rizzio to the laws if he had offended them; but when told that he was dead, she is said to have exclaimed, "I will then dry my tears and think of revenge!" She was in great fear of miscarrying, and sent for the midwife at eight o'clock. Darnley, who was as great a fool as he was a scoundrel, now attempted to console her, and to exonerate himself by accusing and cursing his accomplices. But this was not before Ruthven and the rest had withdrawn. At this moment Mary saw no means of escape out of the hands of the butchers, who had placed their armed retainers round the palace, unless through her husband,

* According to the author of 'L'Innocence,' etc., this Andrew Ker (*Andre Karre*) was cousin-german to Ruthven and the Lord Hume, who was also of the faction.

and she made the imbecile and bewildered Darnley believe that she accepted his justification, and freely pardoned him. On the following day, to the surprise of those who were not in the secret, the Earl of Murray and the banished lords presented themselves at Holyrood, pretending that they had come to stand their trial before their peers in parliament—a step which they were not likely to take had they not known of the projected assassination, which was sure to produce a revolution at court. It appears, indeed, certain that the fugitive lords, who had been in hiding near the borders, had received due warning; and there are reasons for believing, what is positively asserted by some, that Elizabeth and Cecil were accessories both before and after the fact, and that the Earl of Murray himself was not only duly informed, but an original promoter of the plot. The web of this intrigue is altogether so intricate, the treachery of such a compounded nature—for everybody was betraying every one else, and working for a separate object—that the mind is utterly bewildered and lost in the maze. It appears, however, that the Earl of Murray and *his* associates expected to find Morton and Ruthven placed at the head of affairs; but that, as this did not happen, through the defection of Darnley, who now stood for his wife, they instantly agreed to shape a different course, and to take part with the queen, concluding that her enmity against them would be swallowed up by her wrath at the more recent and most intolerable injury she had suffered: and they were quite ready to give up their quondam friends, and profit by their downfall. Murray, apparently through the agency of Darnley, who was equally ready to forget or deny the solemn bond which he had signed with Ruthven and his party for the murder of Rizzio—a deed therein declared to be for the glory of God and the advancement of true religion—formally agreed to detach himself and his friends from the interests of the assassins, and to aid the queen in bringing them to justice. Upon this, Morton, Ruthven, and the rest fled to those very hiding places in the English marches which Murray and his associates had just aban-

doned, and from which Morton and Ruthven had recalled them.

When Mary met her half-brother, forgetting all former wrongs, and regarding him again as her natural defender in the midst of the blood and treachery and iron hearts that surrounded her, she received him with open arms, kissed him, and imputed her ill usage to his absence, weeping in a mixed passion of joy and anguish. The Earl of Murray was, to all appearance, equally affected; and the faithful Melville, who was present, relates that he shed tears. But we have pretty good evidence to show that Murray was dissimulating, as also that he had been engaged in the plot for Rizzio's murder, a fact which has been disputed by historians, anxious to make the best of the godly earl. The Earl of Bedford and Randolph, who wrote a joint letter to the privy council of England, giving a cool, if not an approving, account of the assassination, say, at the end of their narrative:—1st. "The Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven, finding themselves left by the king, for all his fair promises, bonds, and subscriptions, and seeing the others fall from them, *saving the Earl of Murray and such as were of the last enterprise*, thought best to provide for themselves, and so every one of them take their several way where they think that they may be most at ease or surety." 2nd. "*My Lord of Murray*, by a special servant sent unto us (*that is, to Bedford and Randolph, who were at Berwick*), desireth your honours' (ELIZABETH'S PRIVY COUNCIL!) favour and protection to these noble men as his (*Murray's*) dear friends, *and such as for his sake hath given this adventure.*" And in the postscript to this same letter the noble earl and the rising Randolph give, *to their protectors* the lords of the privy council, a list of "the names of such as were doers and of counsel in this last attemptate committed at Edinburgh." In this list appear the Earl of Morton, chancellor; Sir John Balenden, justice clerk or second judicial authority of Scotland; Lord Ruthven; his son, the Master of Ruthven; his brother Alexander Ruthven; Lord Lindsay; the Laird of Lochleven; Mr. Adam Erskine, abbot

of Combuskenneth; Andrew Ker; Andrew Cunningham, son to the Earl of Glencairn; Mr. Archibald Douglas; George Douglas, uncle to Darnley; Ormeston, who afterwards had a hand in Darnley's own murder; Thomas Scott, under-sheriff of Strathearn; the Laird of Carmichael, and *sixteen* other distinguished assassins, including Maitland of Lethington, to whose name is put "secret," to show that he was not as yet suspected. "All these," add Bedford and Randolph, "are men of good living, besides a number of other *gentlemen*." They also mention that two lairds and a provost had been taken and imprisoned, and that the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, had been ordered to leave the court.*

During these transactions, the Earl of Bothwell and the Earl of Huntley (son of the attainted earl, slain, in 1562, at Corrichie) had done their best to serve the queen. According to one account, they were both in Holyrood at the time of Rizzio's murder, and, in fear of their own lives, escaped out of a window.† They collected troops immediately; and when Mary went with her husband to Dunbar Castle, they waited upon him with all their friends, who among them had collected an army of eight thousand men—a measure which, not less than the winning over of the Earl of Murray, had induced Morton and Ruthven to flee across the borders. On Mary's return to Edinburgh, all her adversaries were dispersed; and the king most solemnly protested before the council, that he had never consented to Signor David's death; that the murder had been committed much against his will, and that he would in no manner protect the murderers. Upon which, the next day, proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh against the lords, and declaring the king's innocence. But these

* The whole of this important and decisive document is given by Sir Henry Ellis, from the original among the Cotton. MSS. in Brit. Mus. in his 'Original Letters, etc.,' First Series, vol. ii.

† Letter from Randal, or Randolph, to the English privy council.—*Harl. MSS.*

lords were safe in England, where Elizabeth, for her own purposes, left them undisturbed; and when Mary, in concert with the French court, demanded that she should give them up as men guilty of the worst of crimes, she coolly replied that she did not think it proper so to do until the Scottish queen's anger against them should be somewhat moderated.* Mary prosecuted seven of the murderers of Rizzio, but only two mean men were executed. The great men, as we have shown, were kept out of her reach by one who professed herself a wonderful venerator of justice; and Mary, who was certainly not fond of blood, probably felt that it would be both unfair and absurd to punish their miserable retainers and instruments. It has also been surmised that she was anxious to close the proceedings, in order to screen one who was still her husband. For a short time—it may well be imagined that the time was very short—Mary, Darnley, and Murray seemed to agree tolerably well—the queen dividing her power between her husband and brother. But Darnley was irretrievably lost in habits and in reputation, and, fool though he was, it was difficult for him to believe that, after such wrongs, his wife's reconciliation could be sincere. He sought refuge from his painful thoughts in wine and low company, and, though he absented himself, he was jealous of every person that approached the queen's ear, ever fancying that there was a plot on foot to avenge on him the Holyrood murder. As early as the 4th of April, scarcely a month after that deed, Randolph wrote to Cecil—"The queen has now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords, and now finds that his declaration, before her and the council, of his innocence of the death of Rizzio was false, and is grievously offended that, by this means, he had seeked to come by the crown-matrimonial."†

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary was delivered of a son, afterwards James the Sixth of Scotland and First of

* Burghley Papers.—Lansdowne MSS., as quoted by Raumer.

† Letter in State Paper Office, as given by Raumer.

England. It had been agreed beforehand that Elizabeth should stand godmother to the infant James, and Mary now despatched the diligent and faithful Melville to London. Melville did not spare the spur: he took horse at noon and rode to Berwick that night; and on the fourth day he reached London, where his brother Robert was residing as Mary's ambassador. Sir Robert sent immediately to advertise Secretary Cecil of the birth of the prince, and Cecil posted forthwith down to Greenwich, where he found his mistress in great glee, *dancing after supper*. [Her suppers were not subject to such interruptions as those of her rival.] "But," says Melville, "so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night. All present marvelled whence proceeded such a change; for the queen did sit down, putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock." On the following morning, when Melville had his audience, all this was changed: Elizabeth met him in her best apparel, saying that the joyful news communicated by Secretary Cecil had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lain under for fifteen days: "and therefore," adds he, "she welcomed me with a merry volt,* and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence." The day after his audience, where the acting of the queen was too transparent, he received a royal letter, with the present of a fair chain.† Her English majesty accepted with alacrity the office of godmother; and, as it was a long journey for ladies, she appointed two men, the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Carey, son of her kinsman Lord Hunsdon,‡ with a goodly retinue of knights and gentlemen, to act

* Volt, from the Italian *volto* —countenance.

† Melville's Memoirs.

‡ Henry Carey, created Baron Hunsdon in 1559, was cousin-german to Elizabeth, being the son of Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn.

as her proxies. As, however, a female was indispensable, the Countess of Argyle, one of the spectators of Rizzio's murder, was appointed to represent Elizabeth at the baptismal font. There were two godfathers, the King of France being joined by the Duke of Savoy, and these princes were represented by their respective ambassadors. The ceremony was performed at Stirling by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. During the time of divine service the Earl of Bedford, and all the Protestant gentlemen sent down by Elizabeth, stood outside the chapel, not daring to partake in the idolatries of the mass. Mary was "pensive and melancholy;" Darnley did not appear at all, and his absence was much noticed. The fact was, he had stayed away to save his pride, for Elizabeth had strictly charged the Earl of Bedford and the Englishmen in his company not to treat him as king; and to avoid the mortification of being refused the royal title before the whole court, he kept away from the christening.

But, between the birth and the baptism of James, Darnley had become more than ever estranged from the queen.

Most of the contemporary writers assert that Darnley really had a design against the life of the queen's half-brother, and Murray was not a man likely to forgive him this intention. At the same time, the friends and dependants of Morton and Ruthven entertained a deadly hatred against Darnley for his behaviour after the murder of Rizzio; and they said, among themselves, that he deserved to die the death of a coward and traitor for sacrificing men whom *he* had induced to stain their hands in blood. In short, Darnley had enemies in all quarters, and friends in none; and it may have been fear which made him embrace at one moment the project of travelling on the continent.

The birth of James tended in more ways than one to increase the ill humours and jealousies of Elizabeth. It revived the spirit of Mary's partisans in England, who were mostly, but not all, Catholics. These men seeing

the English queen still unmarried, and likely for ever to remain so, began to calculate as a certainty on the succession falling, if not to Mary, to her son; for at this time the line of Suffolk had almost dropped out of notice. It appears to have been this English party that got up an alarm as to the unsettled state of the succession; but as the danger, in case of Elizabeth's death, was so great and so obvious, all parties soon joined in pressing for some settlement, either by Elizabeth's marriage or otherwise. It was scarcely possible for Mary to be indifferent to this question, and in an unlucky hour she again pressed her rival to name her successor, and obtain from the parliament a recognition of her own rights. In fact, during some stormy debates in both houses,* Mary was mentioned as being the first in the order of succession after Elizabeth. But this extraordinary woman stopped further proceedings, by declaring that she intended to marry, and to have, by God's grace, an heir of her own body. These debates occupied a considerable part of the months of October and November, and both Lords and Commons showed a determined spirit to which they had long been strangers—the Commons even proposing that the question of supplies and that of the succession should go hand in hand. Then our old friend Sir Ralph Sadler, with a serious face, told the Commons that he had heard the queen's majesty declare, in solemn manner, that she would take a husband for the good of her people. As the House was in all probability not quite convinced by Sir Ralph, Elizabeth ordered Secretary Cecil, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Ambrose Carr, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Sir Edward Rogers,

* Cecil notices "certain lewd bills thrown abroad against the queen's majesty, for not assenting to have the matter of succession proved in Parliament; and bills also to charge Sir W. Cecil with the occasion thereof." See Cecil's curious Journal, extending from November, 1542, to January, 1597, as published by Murden, at the end of his collection of the Burghley State Papers. This Journal contains an authentic summary of the great events of Elizabeth's reign; but the entries are, unfortunately, very succinct—mere memoranda.

comptroller of her household, to make the same declaration. The Commons, however, seem to have been still unconvinced; they joined the question of the marriage with the question of settlement, and were proceeding with earnestness when Elizabeth *commanded* them not to proceed further in that matter. This imperative order gave great discontent; but the Commons had not as yet settled what were their privileges; and Paul Wentworth, the member that showed more spirit, ventured only *to doubt* whether such an interference on the part of the crown were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the House. Cecil endeavoured to restore good humour and a confidence which he scarcely felt himself, by assuring them that Elizabeth pledged to the House the word of a queen that she would marry; after which he made some statements which confirm, what ought never to have been doubted by historians, that Elizabeth had been a most troublesome prisoner in the days of her sister Mary. Speaking in the name of her majesty, Cecil told the House, that the naming of a successor must be attended with great danger to her own person; that she had herself experienced during the reign of her sister how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men would make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that, therefore, she had delayed the naming of any successor. But still the Commons were restive—some of them even declaring that the queen was bound in duty to secure them against the chances of a civil war and a disputed succession; that, by persisting in her present conduct, she would show herself the step-mother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem to desire that England should subsist no longer than she should have the glory and satisfaction of governing it. Never had the Commons been so bold. Elizabeth was alarmed into civility: she called up the speaker to court, assured him that she was sincere in her intention of marrying, but repeated her prohibition as to the debates still going on. The members, however, showed a determination not to obey this command; upon which she was

graciously pleased to revoke it, and to allow the House the liberty of debate. The latter wise measure cooled their heat, and they voted the supplies without hampering them with conditions. Soon after this, the queen dissolved the parliament; but it was not consistent with her temper and her notions of prerogative to permit them to depart without a lesson. As it was Elizabeth's policy never to do anything unpopular with one hand without performing some popular act with the other, she remitted payment of part of the supplies voted to her, making that memorable and captivating speech — that money in the purses of her subjects was as good to her as in her own exchequer.*

On the 9th of November, while the debates were at the warmest in the English parliament, Mary addressed a letter to Elizabeth's privy council, calling to mind that her hereditary right, as had lately been mentioned in parliament, was indisputable. "And, albeit," continues Mary, "we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put the matter in question, yet likewise we will be judged by the laws of England. We do affectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifferency, whenever it shall please the queen to put it in deliberation."† As the English parliament was actually engaged on the matter, and seemed determined to press Elizabeth to a decision, nothing could well be more a matter of course than Mary's mentioning her own claims at such a moment. But the measure evidently chagrined her rival, who was further irritated by a request urged by Melville—"to cause certain persons, now living, to be examined of their knowledge of the manner of the last testament of King Henry."‡ The will of Henry VIII., which barred in the most irregular manner the Scottish line, was indeed

* Camden.—D'Ewes.—Cecil says briefly, in his Journal. —"In this parliament time the queen's majesty did remit a part of the offer of a subsidy by the Commons, who offered largely to the end to have had the succession stablished."

† Harl. MS., 4645, as quoted by Raumer. ‡ Id.

the only obstacle to Mary's hereditary claim, and this will was suspected to have been a forgery. Elizabeth, who was resolved to do no such thing, instructed the Earl of Bedford to tell Mary that she meant to examine her father's will as soon as she should find it convenient; but, on the other hand, he was to request the Scottish queen fully to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, which had been deferred, as she said, "upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title before all others, after us." But a compliance with this would have been nothing less than a renunciation on Mary's part of all rights to the English succession (for so much was implied in the treaty of Edinburgh), only softened by a promise from one whose merit in promise-keeping had not been very conspicuous. It might, indeed, have been better for Mary had she gratified her imperious rival in this particular; but her refusal was neither unjust nor unreasonable, but perfectly consistent with an honest diplomacy. Elizabeth, however, was furious. We have not evidence to prove the full extent to which her conscience permitted her to go, but it is certain that she threw more activity into intrigues and proceedings which had never been interrupted, and sought to preserve tranquillity at home, and to avoid naming an odious successor, by stirring up fresh troubles in Scotland. Her agents at Edinburgh had continual conferences with Murray: the godly lords who had murdered Rizzio were taken under her special and avowed protection: and when the Earl of Bedford attended at the christening of James, he was instructed by his sovereign and Secretary Cecil to take advantage of that happy moment to plead to Queen Mary in their favour. Mary, as we have seen, was not happy or cheerful at that moment;* yet, at the

* According to the French ambassador, she behaved admirably well at the baptism and at the entertainment given to all that *goodly company*, but yet could not conceal her unhappiness. He says,—"She sent for me yesterday, the 22nd of December (*five days after the ceremony*), and I found her laid on the bed, weeping sore. . . . I am much grieved for

petition of Bedford, she granted the murderers a free pardon; and within a few days the Lords Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, with seventy-five other conspirators, chiefly the followers of Morton, returned into Scotland, where, within six months, they disgraced and dethroned their forgiving sovereign. Darnley, who was in Stirling Castle, quitted that place for Glasgow as soon as he heard that the queen had caused the privy seal to be put to the pardon of Morton, a man whom he had good reason to dread. According to John Knox, Darnley left the queen abruptly, "without good night." Bothwell, on the contrary, testified great joy at the recall of the exiles, and even went to meet Morton, with whom he had a long conference at Whittingham, on the Scottish borders;—where, according to Morton's confession, when his own hour came, he was admitted into the secrets of a conspiracy for murdering Darnley.* At the same time the Earl of Murray, who had pleaded for the exiles in England, conducted the Earl of Bedford to his house in Fife, and there treated him "with much honour, great cheer, and courteous entertainment," things which, we are entitled to surmise, were but a cover to more serious transactions.

It should appear that Bothwell, whose audacity was equal to anything, conceived the notion of marrying the queen, building confidently on her affection for his person. Yet this scheme must have been recent and sudden, as also the love of the queen, upon which it is said to have been founded. Bothwell, not six months before, had married the sister of the Earl of Huntley, and, though he got rid of this incumbrance, he would scarcely have taken a wife if he had *then* contemplated a union with the queen. Mary, on the other hand, seems to have given no very striking proof of an ardent and headlong passion. Some little circumstances usually cited against

the many troubles and vexations she meets with."—*Letter of Le Croc, quoted by Keith.*

* This is what Melville calls *a quiet friendship*. "The Earl of Bothwell," he says, "picked up a quiet friendship with the Earl Morton."

her admit of a very different explanation from the one generally given. We must here descend to minutiæ otherwise unworthy of a place in history. On the 27th of July Mary set sail in a vessel, manned by Bothwell, for Alloa, about thirty miles up the Forth. This was called by her enemies a going away with the pirates and with Bothwell; but that earl, as lord high admiral, was the proper person to attend to such a voyage, and the pirates were Scottish sailors under his command. The queen, who was recovering from the effects of child-bearing, was too weak to travel on horseback, and it appears that she had no wheel-carriage. But even if there had been a carriage and good roads (which were altogether wanting), a voyage by sea was preferable under all circumstances. The queen was going to visit the Earl of Marr, a most honourable and devout man, according to the showing even of his enemies, and that nobleman, together with Murray and most of her officers of state, besides Bothwell, accompanied her. Darnley, it is true, chose to go by land, but Darnley, besides being in different case from his convalescent wife, was at open enmity with the Earl of Murray, and was, besides, wayward and capricious, like a spoilt boy. On the 29th of July the queen returned to Edinburgh to meet the French ambassador, who had arrived to congratulate her upon her safe delivery; and, on the 1st of August, she ascended the Forth again to Alloa, when her husband joined her and remained two nights with her. During this time Secretary Maitland, who had absconded after Rizzio's assassination, in the arranging of which he had played a foremost part, was pardoned in spite of Bothwell. On the 4th of August Mary again descended the Forth, and took up her abode at Holyrood, to all appearance much improved in health by her stay at Alloa and her short sea voyages. For two days after her return she and her husband agreed well together, and when dissensions broke out the name of Bothwell was not mentioned; but it was said that Darnley was offended with the queen for keeping so much company with Murray, her half-brother, and then her prime minister;

and it was at this moment that Darnley is accused of threatening to make away with Murray. In spite, however, of these broils, Mary and her husband, attended by Huntley, Murray, and other nobles, hunted together in Peebleshire for three or four days, and returned in company to Edinburgh on the 20th of August. On the 22nd of the same month Mary and Darnley went to Stirling, carrying with them Prince James. Leaving their infant in Stirling Castle, they went together to hunt for a few days in Glenartney, in Perthshire. On the 31st of August they returned to Stirling, where they remained together, with their child, nearly a fortnight. On the 12th of September Mary went to Edinburgh to attend public business, and Darnley refused to accompany her. On the 21st of the same month the queen returned to her husband. Two days after she repaired alone to Edinburgh, having in vain endeavoured to make her wayward husband go with her. It was at this crisis that Darnley spoke of going abroad:—his own father, the Earl of Lennox, informed the queen of this strange design. Mary instantly laid Lennox's letter before her privy council, and, on that same night, at 10 o'clock, Darnley arrived at Edinburgh; but he would not enter Holyrood House unless three of the chief nobles who were there should be dismissed. These were, according to one account, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and Rothes; according to another, Murray, Rothes, and Secretary Maitland. In no contemporary account is there mention made of Bothwell, and, in addition to his old grounds of jealousy and enmity against Murray, it is mentioned that Darnley was at this moment enraged because he could not obtain such things as he sought,—to wit, the dismissals of Secretary Maitland, the Justice Clerk, and the Clerk of Registry. On the morrow, when Darnley came to his senses, the queen, in presence of the privy council and the Bishop of Ross, took him by the hand and conjured him to say whether she had ever given him offence, and to state the true cause of his discontent. He declared that the queen had never given him any cause of complaint, and that he had no real intention of quitting

the kingdom; and yet, when he returned from the council, he said to the queen, "Adieu, madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." He went to Glasgow to his father and hired a vessel, and kept it in readiness as if he really meant to abscond. Hence also he wrote a letter to the queen, stating grievances which he would not mention before; and yet in these grievances there is no mention of Bothwell, or hint of any jealousy on his account. Darnley complained, first, that the queen did not trust him with so much authority, nor was at such pains to advance him and to make him be honoured by the nation, as formerly; secondly, that nobody attended him, and the nobility avoided his company. To these avowed grievances Mary replied that she had conferred so much honour on him as had rendered herself very uneasy; and that he had abused her favours by patronising a conspiracy against her; but, notwithstanding this, she had cõntinued to show him such respect that, though those who entered her chamber with him and murdered her faithful servant had named him as their chief, yet she had never accused him thereof, but excused him, as if she had not believed the fact. (This passage proves, what has scarcely ever been doubted, that Mary was not deceived by Darnley's protestations of innocence, and that his share in the murder of Rizzio was a crime she could never forget or really forgive, however much she may have been disposed, for the sake of appearances, to live on friendly terms with her husband.) Thirdly, that as to his not being attended, the fault was his own, as she had always offered him her own servants, and could not compel the nobles to wait upon him since it was his own deportment and want of courtesy which drove them from him. This reply was drawn up by the privy council; and a letter addressed to the queen-mother of France, declaring that Darnley had no ground of complaint, but, on the contrary, the best reason to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes of Christendom, if he had only known his own happiness and made a proper use of his good fortune, was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Murray,

Athole, Caithness, Rothes, Secretary Maitland, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, Orkney, and Dunkeld. And Le Croc, the French ambassador, wrote at this very moment:—"It is in vain to imagine that Darnley shall be able to raise any disturbance, for there is not one person in this kingdom that regards him any further than is agreeable to the queen; and I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, or so great harmony amongst all her subjects as at present, by her own conduct."* During part of these transactions Bothwell was not at court, and Darnley's petulance was not directed against *him*, but against Murray and Maitland, two men who were seldom insulted with impunity, or disappointed in carrying any scheme they proposed,—men of consummate craft, who could always turn the fiercer villanies of others to their own purpose. In the afternoon of the 6th of October, Bothwell, in discharge of his duties as warden of the marches, left Edinburgh for the Borders, which were, as usual, in a disturbed state. On the 8th of the same month Mary, according to a purpose declared many weeks before, went to Jedburgh to hold Justice Ayres, or to superintend the proceedings of the circuit courts, a common practice, at the regular seasons, with Scottish sovereigns. On the same day that Mary set out for the Borders, Bothwell was wounded at Hermitage Castle by an outlaw of those parts named Eliott of Park, whom he had attempted to make prisoner with his own hand. The news of this affray reached Mary at Jedburgh, where she was attended by most of her officers of state. It has been stated by an elegant, but not very correct, historian, that she instantly flew on the wings of love to Bothwell;† but it is proved by the most authentic documents that she did not quit her duties and engagements at Jedburgh until eight days had elapsed. This materially changes the aspect of the story. "A journey undertaken," says Walter Scott, "after such an interval, has not the appearance of being performed at the im-

* Keith.—Chalmers. † Robertson, Hist. Scot.

pulse of passion, but seems rather to have flowed from some political motive; and the queen's readiness to take arms in person, both previously to the battle of Corrichie and at the Round-about-Raid, may account for her dauntlessly approaching a disturbed district in her dominions without supposing her to be acting upon the impulse of a guilty passion, or even an inordinate favour for her wounded officer."* On the 16th of October Mary rode on horseback from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle, to visit the wounded Bothwell. The distance between the two places was about twenty English miles; but she rode back to Jedburgh on the same day, not stopping to sleep at Hermitage, which was *her* castle and not Bothwell's. Historians in general are not good horsemen: they have considered this journey as something much more remarkable than it really was in a spirited, active woman of four-and-twenty, who was a most excellent horsewoman, and they have fancied that no motive short of an amorous one could possibly make the queen ride forty statute miles in one day! But Mary was likely to ride forty miles in a long autumn day for mere pastime, and in the present case there was a sufficiently strong motive in her desire to investigate the cause of an outrage committed on one who, by right of office, represented her royal authority, and who, in her eyes, even without love, may have appeared as an active and deserving lieutenant. But, again, if the journey had been so terrible and Mary so lost to shame as they represented, she would scarcely have been at the trouble of riding back to Jedburgh before night set in. In the enfeebled state of her health the long ride did, however, prove somewhat serious, for, on the following day, the 17th of October, the queen was seized with a dangerous fever, which, in conjunction with uneasiness of mind, caused partly by her husband, and her apprehension of some fresh conspiracy, or of some murder like that of Rizzio, brought her almost to the point of death, and kept her during ten whole days in a very doubtful state.

* Hist. Scot.

Intelligence of the queen's illness was sent immediately to Darnley, who was then no farther off than Glasgow, and who showed great indifference on the receipt of it. The French ambassador and the Bishop of Ross both wrote to Paris, relating the dangerous state of the queen, and complaining of her husband's neglect. Darnley at last took the road to Jedburgh, but he did not arrive there till the 28th of October. The queen, now convalescent, received him but coolly, and the very next day he left her again. It should appear, however, that Darnley stood in dread of Murray and Maitland, who were almost constantly with his wife, and who had taken measures during her illness to exclude him and his father from all share in the government in case the disease should prove mortal.* On the 9th of November Mary, having finished the business of the Ayres, left Jedburgh for Kelso, where she held a council on the following day. "She then returned by the Merse, and being desirous to see Berwick afar off, she ascended Halidon Hill, being well escorted by troops of Borderers on horseback. The English garrison of Berwick honoured her with many shots of artillery; and Sir John Forster, one of the wardens of the English Border, came with other officers, out of Berwick, and conferred with her majesty as to the keeping of good order in those wild districts. Melville, who was of the party, adds, "The king followed her about where she rode, getting no good countenance, and therefore he passed to Glasgow, where he fell sick for displeasure, as was alleged, not without some bruit of an ill drink by some of his servants."† But, according to all other accounts, Darnley had gone straight to Glasgow after

* Melville says, "that, during the stay of the court at Jedburgh, there was another dark plot on foot, and that the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprised the slaughter of the Earl of Murray, but the Lord Hume came there with forces and prevented that enterprise." Keith, on the other hand, makes it rather probable that there was a purpose entertained to murder Bothwell!

† Melville.

his short visit to the queen at Jedburgh. On the 19th of November Mary proceeded to Tantallon Castle, and thence, on the following day, to Craigmillar. Here, according to Le Croc, the French ambassador, she was sick and melancholy, and in the hands of the physician. About a week after her arrival at Craigmillar, Darnley, whose conduct can be reduced to no rational rule, came to visit her, and remained a week! The queen was attended by nearly her whole court. Murray was there, and so also were Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and Maitland. In the beginning of December Maitland and Murray, after conferring with Argyle, Huntley, and Bothwell, resolved that the queen should be divorced from her unsuitable husband. It appears that all these lords were perfectly agreed as to this plan, but that Murray kept in the background, leaving the principal management of the affair to the adroit and eloquent Maitland, who bore a personal and bitter hatred to Darnley. But when the plan was laid before the queen, she rejected it without hesitation, saying that such a measure could not be adopted without throwing discredit on her own character and doubts on the legitimacy of her child; nor could the eloquence of Maitland and the earnestness of Bothwell overcome this repugnance,—a striking proof that, up to this time at least, she was chary of her reputation, and anxious to preserve it even at the cost of great suffering.

A few days after this debate, the queen was at Stirling for the baptism of her child. There, as we have related, she pardoned the dark-souled Morton and his confederates; and then it was that Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton met at Whittingham, where it is supposed, and, in fact, almost proved, that *they* concerted the murder of Darnley, who, after the ceremonies at Stirling, in which he did not partake, had again retired, as we have seen, to Glasgow. This doomed man could know nothing of the secret meeting between Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton; but he well knew that the returned exiles were athirst for vengeance against him. He reached Glasgow; but a frightful disease—the small-pox—was there before

him, and he caught the infection immediately. When informed of his malady, the queen sent him her own physician.* When her own life was in danger at Jedburgh Darnley had shown no solicitude. She did not go to Glasgow herself, but the historians who censure her on this account seem to forget that she had an infant to attend to, and that the disease was in the highest degree contagious. The queen set out from Stirling with the young prince for Edinburgh, where she arrived on the 14th of January, 1567. The capital rung with different rumours, some of which reached her ears, and gave her great uneasiness. It was said, for example, that Darnley intended to crown his infant son, and to take the government on himself. But by another report, which seems to have been equally prevalent, Darnley was to be put in ward, as he could not bear some of the nobles who attended the court, so that he or they must leave it. Other reports, however, had spread on the continent, and Mary's ambassador at Paris informed her that the Spanish ambassador had desired him to warn her of some secret plot which was ready to be made at Edinburgh, and conjured her to double her guards. Yet, after writing to her ambassador in France, that she knew from good authority, that the king, his father, and adherents, were talking and thinking of doing her some injury, only that their power was not equal to their will, Mary consented to a fresh reconciliation, which is said to have been brought about by her physician, who had attended Darnley, and seen him out of danger; and then set out for Glasgow, where she

* Buchanan, Knox, and other writers of that side, assert that Darnley was poisoned by his wife's orders, and that she would not suffer a physician to come to him. This assertion is completely overset, and that, too, by the testimony of one who was always inclined to take the very worst view of Mary's conduct. The Earl of Bedford, who was almost on the spot, wrote to Cecil on the 9th of January,—"The king is now at Glasgow with his father, and there lieth full of the small pokes, to whom the queen hath sent her physician."—*Orig. Letter in State Paper Office*, quoted by Keith and Chalmers.

arrived on the 25th of January. Her interview with her husband is described as having been friendly, if not affectionate, and, as he was convalescent, he agreed to accompany her back to Edinburgh in the course of a few days. On the 29th of January they left Glasgow together, Mary travelling, as usual, on horseback; Darnley, on account of his weakness, being carried in a kind of litter. They rested for nearly two days at Linlithgow—the pleasantest palace in all Scotland—and they reached the capital on the last day of January. The king's infectious illness was assigned as an imperative reason for lodging him out of the close and crowded palace of Holyrood, where his wife and his child resided. A lonely house called the Kirk-a-Field, situated near where the College of Edinburgh now stands, but which was then in the suburbs of the town, had been chosen for him by the queen's physician, who is said to have preferred it on account of its open airy situation, and to have fitted it up for the king's reception. This house belonged to one Robert Balfour, the provost of the collegiate church St. Mary. Here the queen visited him daily, and several times slept in a chamber under that of the king. "But many," says Melville, "suspected that the Earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him (Darnley)." Upon the fatal day, Murray, who, be it observed, invariably managed to be out of the way when anything doubtful and dangerous was to be done, absented himself from the court under pretence that his wife had fallen sick in the country. This opportune absence is certain, and if we are to believe more questionable authority—the zealous advocates of the queen—Murray, upon his journey, speaking of Darnley's behaviour, told a person in whom he reposed his chief confidence, that the king would not live to see another day.* This same evening the queen, with several of the nobles, spent with her husband, whom she only left at eleven o'clock at night, in order to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood House, which was given on occasion of the marriage of Sebastian Auvergnac, one

* Bishop Lesley's Defence of the Queen of Scots.

of her servants. About three hours after her departure, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, the ancient palace and the city were shaken by a violent explosion; and when people went forth to see, they found the house of Kirk-a-Field utterly destroyed, and the bodies of Darnley and his valet lying in the garden without any marks of violence on their persons. The body of Darnley was carried to a house close at hand, was laid within a chamber, and kept by one Sandy (or Alexander) Drurem; but, adds Melville, "I could not get the sight of him." When Melville went to the palace he found her majesty kept her chamber. He says, "I came to the chamber-door the next morning after the murder. The Earl Bothwell said that her majesty was sorrowful and quiet; for he came forth and told me he saw the strangest accident that ever chanced—to wit, the thunder came out of the luft (sky) and had burnt the king's house, and himself found lying dead a little distance from the house under a tree, and willed me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body." *

Never was an atrocious murder more clumsily executed.

* In this story of horror nearly every point is still a mystery. It has never been ascertained how Darnley was killed. According to one account, he was blown up in the house; but this seems to be disproved by the fact (witnessed by hundreds) that the body bore no marks of violence or outward hurt. According to another account, he was strangled in his bed, and the house was then blown up to conceal the deed; but if so, why was the body removed to some distance, and placed under a tree in a perfectly sound state? And then the previous strangling would be a useless process with a sick man in his bed, and a train of gunpowder under him. Bothwell, it appears, wished people to believe that the house had been struck by lightning; but, unless he was absolutely crazed, he could never fancy that the people would believe that the lightning had first carried Darnley out of a window, and deposited him, without a bone broken, under the tree, and had then reduced the house to a heap of ruins, in which everything was buried except Darnley and his attendant!

The elements had been quiet that night, and even an ignorant eye could detect the effects of a mine of gunpowder. Suspicion immediately fell upon Bothwell, but not so immediately either upon the queen or upon Morton and Maitland, and the others who were afterwards proved to have been accessaries and in part active participants in the deed with Bothwell. Some light will be thrown on the horrid mystery by our narration of succeeding events, and the reader will weigh the preceding facts, which we have endeavoured to state clearly and without bias. In truth, our own mind is not made up as to the long and hotly debated question of the queen's innocence or guilt in regard to her husband's murder. Notwithstanding the popular accusation of Bothwell, as being the chief murderer, Secretary Maitland, Morton, Huntley, Argyle, in fact, all her ministers, and nearly every person that approached her, not excepting even her brother Murray, continued their close friendship with that desperate man, and joined together in maintaining his innocence. But several of them could not admit his guilt without proclaiming their own. There is, at least, a doubt in favour of the queen—*perhaps*, even in favour of Murray—but there is none as to the rest having taken part, more or less actively, in the murder. These very men, however, acting as the queen's ministers, issued a proclamation on the 12th of February, offering a reward of two thousand pounds for the discovery of the murderers. On the 16th of the same month placards were set up in the public places of Edinburgh, designating the Earl of Bothwell and three of his servants as the murderers. At this moment Mary was plunged in grief and dismay; and the same ministers—the allies of Bothwell—offered a fresh reward for the discovery of the author of the placards. No person, either of high or low degree, had courage to come forward in the face of the government. But, in the dead of night, fierce voices were heard in the streets of Edinburgh, charging Bothwell as a principal, and the queen as an accomplice. Other persons, however, were named in the like manner; and no one pressed any specific charge, till Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, at

the beginning of the month of March, sent from Glasgow, where he was collecting his friends, to request the queen that such persons as were named in the placards should be arrested. He was answered, that if he, or any, would stand to the accusation of any of the persons so named, it should be done; but not by virtue of the placards or at his request. This information we derive from Henry Killigrew, whom Elizabeth had sent down ostensibly to condole with Mary, and who, on the very day of his writing (the 8th of March), had dined with Murray, Huntley (then chancellor), the Earl of Argyle, Lord Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland,—the whole party being still bosom friends.* On the 17th of March the Earl of Lennox made a more formal accusation of Bothwell and others.† On the 21st Bothwell was allowed by Mary and her ministers to get into his own hands the strong castle of Edinburgh. On the 28th of the same month an order was issued by the privy council for Bothwell's trial to take place on the 12th of April. Lennox, who is more than suspected of having had a principal share in the murder of Rizzio, and in other dishonourable plots, complained of violence and injustice; and he wrote not only to Mary, but to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain a postponement of the trial, stating, with some reason, that the time was too short to allow him to collect his witnesses, and that he could not safely present himself where the murderers of his son were not only at large but in possession of power and favour.‡ But it was determined,

* Letter from Killigrew to Cecil, as given by Chalmers. The original is in the State Paper Office.

† He charged Bothwell, with his three partisans or dependants, Balfour, Chalmers, and Spence, and three servants of the queen, Sebastian, Bordeaux, and Joseph Rizzio, the brother of David, whom Mary had promoted after the Holyrood assassination.

‡ Elizabeth remonstrated with Mary, but the English messenger did not arrive at Holyrood till the very morning of the mock trial. From the 28th of March to the 12th of April are only fifteen days, so that, as a forced journey from Edinburgh to London (and Lennox wrote from Glasgow)

in spite of this remonstrance, that the Court of Justiciary should proceed to trial on the day fixed. Lennox then advanced from Glasgow to Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh; but here his fears overcame him,—he wrote his excuses,—and then fled with all haste into England, where he was kindly received by Elizabeth. On the 9th of April, before the trial came on, Murray, having with great difficulty obtained the queen's permission, set out from Edinburgh for France. He took his journey through England, where he also was well received; and he took care not to return until the course of events left all but the throne open to his ambition: and yet his absence could hardly exonerate him from suspicion of treacherous dealing; for the cunning Maitland was his sworn ally and coadjutor; and he, and others equally devoted to the earl, remained quietly at their posts till the vessel of the state was fairly driven upon the rocks. On the appointed day, when the Justiciary Court opened, Bothwell appeared at the bar, *supported on the one hand by Maitland, on the other by Morton.* No evidence was produced,—no prosecutor appeared,—and Bothwell was necessarily acquitted; though, by this time, there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but felt assured of *his* guilt. On the 14th of April, two days after this acquittal, a parliament assembled in a regular manner at Edinburgh. It was opened by the queen's commissioners; but on the 16th her majesty appeared in person, Bothwell carrying the sceptre before her. The parliament confirmed to the murderer all the estates and honours he had recently received, and at the same time all their estates and honours to the nobles who had acted with him or were willing to aid him in his ambitious designs. Old forfeitures were reversed, new grants were made, every man looking eagerly for a share in the queen's liberality. An

occupied six days, and the same time must be allowed for the return, without counting time for consulting with her ministers or allowing for contingencies, the English queen had possibly not been able to get her remonstrance to Holyrood sooner.

allusion was boldly made to the late charges against Bothwell, and accusations by placards or bills stuck up secretly in the streets were prohibited. No Scottish parliament at this time could overlook the great question of religion. The present drew up a bill for the renouncing of all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, and for confirming and ratifying the Protestant doctrines and church government; and the queen readily gave the royal assent to this bill, which bestowed a constitutional sanction upon the reformed church, and proclaimed a total renunciation of the authority of Rome. Bothwell was indefatigable in this parliament, evidently hoping to conciliate the preachers. During the sitting of the parliament reports got abroad of an intended marriage between the queen and Bothwell. "The bruit began to rise," says Melville, "that the queen would marry the Earl Bothwell, who had, six months before, married the Earl of Huntley's sister, and would part with his own wife. Whereat every good subject that loved the queen's honour and the prince's surety had sore hearts, and thought her majesty would be dishonoured and the prince in danger to be cut off by him that had slain his father; but few or none durst speak in the contrary. Yet my Lord Herries, a worthy nobleman, came to Edinburgh well accompanied, and told her majesty what bruits were passing through the country, of the Earl Bothwell murdering of the king, and how that she was to marry him; requesting her majesty, most humbly upon his knees, to remember upon her honour and dignity, and upon the surety of the prince, which would all be in danger of tincell (destruction) in case she married the said earl; with many other great persuasions to eschew such utter wrack and inconvenients as that would bring on. Her majesty marvelled at such bruits without purpose, and said that there was no such thing in her mind."

If some remarkable details in Melville's Memoirs are honestly and correctly given,—and our own impression is that they are so in the main,—Mary was evidently at this moment coerced by the ruffianly audacity of Bothwell, who was still in close alliance with Maitland and

all her ministers, and permitted by them to menace her true friends in her own palace. Immediately after the rising of parliament Bothwell invited the leading members of that body, lay and ecclesiastic, to an entertainment in an Edinburgh tavern,* and declared to them his purpose of marrying the queen. Hereupon he drew out a bond from his pocket, wherein, after a full recognition of his innocence of the late king's murder, he, Bothwell, was warmly recommended as a suitable match to her majesty in case she should condescend to marry with a subject; and the bond further stated that the subscribers thereto pledged themselves to advance the said marriage at the risk of life and goods. Voluntarily, or through fear, eight bishops, nine earls, and seven lords subscribed the paper, which Bothwell then returned to his pocket. Maitland and the ex-chancellor Morton countenanced and supported him; they put their signatures to the bond; and with them signed Argyle, Rothes, and Boyd, who were all sworn allies of the Earl of Murray, and who had joined in his rebellion on the queen's marriage with Darnley. Among the other names appears even that of Lord Herries, for all the part he had taken, according to Melville, only a few days before. Four days after the signing of this bond Bothwell collected about a thousand horse under pretext of border service, and lay in wait for the queen, who was then returning from Stirling Castle, whither she had been to visit her infant son. At the Foulbrigs, between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, Bothwell rode up to her, and took her majesty's horse by the bridle. His men took the Earl of Huntley, the Secretary Lethington, and Melville, and letting all the rest go free, carried them with the queen as captives to the strong castle of Dunbar. Huntley (though brother to Bothwell's wife) and Maitland were certainly willing prisoners—were plotters in the dark business; but after all that has been said and written, there is some doubt

* The house was kept by one Ainslie. Hence the famous transaction was called "Ainslie's Supper,"—a name which was afterwards applied to the house or tavern itself.

whether the queen were not taken by surprise and force; and this is the point most decisive of Mary's character, far more so than the subsequent act of marriage with Bothwell. If she went knowingly and willingly, she loaded herself with a crushing weight of guilt and folly; but if she were carried away by violence, the marriage would appear, in the eyes of most women of that time, as the only means of covering her honour. Melville, who was, as we have seen, with the queen when she was taken, is not very clear on this point; he says, however, that Bothwell, after taking the queen's bridle, "boasted to marry the queen, who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not." But he adds—"Captain Blaiketer, (or Blackadder), that was my taker, alleged that it was with the queen's own consent." Yet here, it should be observed, that Blackadder, as an officer or servant of Bothwell,—as a person actively engaged in the transaction,—would naturally make such an assertion; for, if it was against the queen's consent, the act was nothing less than treason in all concerned. On the following day Melville was let out of Dunbar Castle, and permitted to pass home. But Bothwell kept the queen five days in that fortress, during which none of her subjects made any efforts for her release,—a remarkable fact, susceptible of at least two interpretations:—either they believed that she was there willingly; or they wished to see her utterly defamed and ruined by a marriage with Bothwell. The most active of the nobles had conspired to bring this about: Maitland, who remained with her in the castle, continued to urge her to this step. Mary afterwards complained that, while under this thraldom, not a sword was drawn for her relief; but after their marriage a thousand swords flew from their scabbards to drive Bothwell from the country and herself from her throne. On the 29th of April the daring man brought the queen back to Edinburgh Castle, and placed her in seeming liberty; but she was in fact still in a snare, entirely surrounded by crafty and remorseless men. "Afterwards," says Melville, "the court came to Edinburgh, and there a number of noblemen were drawn together in a chamber within

the palace, where they subscribed, all, that the marriage between the queen and the Earl Bothwell was very meet, he being well friended in Lothians and upon the borders, to cause good rule to be kept; and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the Earl of Huntley." This hurried parting with his wife was one of the most revolting features of Bothwell's conduct; and yet, in this respect, he was scarcely more infamous than his high-born wife herself, or her brother the Earl of Huntley, chancellor of the kingdom and guardian of the purity of the laws! He commenced a process in the Consistory Court of the Popish Archbishop of St. Andrew's for a divorce on the plea of consanguinity; and his wife, in collusion with him, sued her husband in the Protestant Court of Commissaries of Edinburgh for a divorce on a charge of adultery. She had been previously gratified by Bothwell with a grant for life of the lands and town of Nether-Hailes in Haddingtonshire; and Huntley, her brother, continued in the closest intimacy with Bothwell, and was even present at his marriage with the queen. Both the ecclesiastical courts proceeded with as much speed as Bothwell could have required, and on different grounds passed sentence of divorce. A few days after the queen appeared in the Court of Session, and there declared before the chancellor, the judges, and several of the nobility, that though she had been carried off and detained against her will in Dunbar, and greatly injured by the Earl of Bothwell, yet considering his former great services, and all that might be hereafter expected from his bravery and ability, she was disposed not only to forgive him, but also to exalt him to higher honours. Bothwell, of course, had made the best use of his bond signed by the bishops, and earls, and lords at "Ainslie's Supper;" and it is generally admitted that this document had great weight with Mary, who, it should appear, did not see it until she was at Dunbar. And now the said great lords, spiritual and temporal, who had signed the deed, got from the queen a written assur-

ance that neither they nor their descendants should ever be accused on that account.* Resolving to have his new marriage performed in a strictly Protestant and Presbyterian manner, Bothwell commanded that the banns should be published in the regular parish church at Edinburgh. John Knox was then absent, but his place was supplied by his friend and colleague Craig, who, after some hesitation, published the banns as required, and then protested from the pulpit that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step which would cover her with infamy. But the nobles were far indeed from any disposition to make efforts in this way, the influence of the greater part of them being engaged to promote the match, and no complaint on their part being made against it until it was completed, and the queen irretrievably lost. Bothwell was now created Duke of Orkney; and on the 15th of May, only eight days after the dissolution of his former marriage, he was united to the queen. "The marriage," says Melville, "was made in the palace of Holyrood House, after a preaching by Adam Bodewell (or Bothwell), bishop of Orkney, in the great hall where the council uses to sit, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the chapel of the mass, as was the king's marriage." On the same day, however, the ceremony was also performed in private according to the Catholic forms. At the public celebration there was a great attendance of nobles. A few days after this wretched marriage, Le Croc, the French ambassador, represents Mary as being in the extremity of grief and despair. "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful—because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.'"† This does not look like

* Keith.—Lesley.—Scott.

† Harl. MS., quoted by Raumer.

an amorous bride who had willingly and eagerly thrown herself into the arms of her lover. Envoys were sent to England and to France to communicate the queen's marriage, and to counteract the rumours which were afloat. Elizabeth, who had certainly been warned beforehand by Morton and Maitland,—the very men who were most active in bringing about the match,—now prepared to lend her assistance to them in taking up arms against the queen. Morton, as it has been observed, was well aware that, by ruining Mary, he should gratify his patroness Elizabeth, and raise his own party to the prime management of affairs; and, after the lapse of a few short years, when Mary's brother, Murray, who was the first to step to greatness by her fall, was laid in a bloody grave, we shall see this same Morton, one of the murderers of Rizzio as of Darnley, made regent of Scotland, under the protection of the English queen.

As soon as the queen's honour was inseparably connected with Bothwell, then Morton, Maitland, and the rest began to talk against the marriage, to revive the mournful fate of Darnley, and to intimate that Bothwell was guilty of that murder. At first, all this was said cautiously and secretly; but as soon as they had seen the effects of such discourses, and the great force they could rely upon, they openly declared themselves; and three weeks after the marriage they flew to arms, ostensibly only to punish their colleague and brother assassin, Bothwell, to secure the person of the young prince, and to liberate the queen from the control of her husband. The confederacy of the lords was, in fact, explicitly declared to be for the protection of the queen and her son against the guilty Bothwell; but they had already determined to dethrone Mary, and crown the infant James. On the 6th of June, before any declaration was made, they attempted to seize the queen and Bothwell in Borthwick Castle, about eight miles south-east of Edinburgh; but the earl easily escaped, and after him the queen, disguised in male attire, rode without stopping, on a common saddle, to the castle of Dunbar. The confederates counter-marched upon Edinburgh, where the populace

joined them. It was still reported that the life of Prince James was in danger, though the Earl of Marr, who had joined the confederacy, had him in perfect safety in Stirling Castle. The confederates assumed the power of government, issuing proclamations, as if the queen had been already dethroned. They called upon all the queen's people to join their standard under pain of being deemed murderers of the late king; and in order to move men's hearts, they circulated printed papers, detailing the atrocities of Bothwell. Still, however, with the exception of the lower orders, few flocked to their standard; and at this moment the corporation of Edinburgh sent a deputation to Mary, to excuse the city for admitting the confederated nobles. The queen, in the mean while, summoned her faithful subjects in the adjoining counties; and, by the end of two days, two thousand fighting men from the Lothians and the Merse gathered round her standard at Dunbar. Here she ought to have remained —for the castle was almost impregnable, the confederates had little or no artillery, and their force was not increasing so rapidly as her own. But the queen, who was always bold and decisive in the face of such dangers as these, and who could not have forgotten how the lords fled before her in the Round-about-Raid, marched out of Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June. She halted at Gladsmuir, where she caused a proclamation to be read to her little army, exposing the professions of the insurgents, declaring that her late marriage with Bothwell had been contracted and solemnized with the consent and at the persuasion of the chiefs of the insurrection, as their own hand-writings testified, and affirming that, though they affected to fear for the safety of her son (*who was in their own possession*), yet they only aimed at overthrowing her and her posterity, in order that they themselves might enjoy the supreme power. That night she lay at Seton. On the following morning, Sunday, the 15th of June, exactly one month after her marriage, she advanced to Carberry Hill, and there drew up in order of battle—for the insurgents had advanced from Edinburgh to meet her, and stood in battle array

in two divisions, the one commanded by the Earl of Morton, the other by the Earl of Athole. While the two armies stood thus in presence of each other, the aged Le Croc advanced to the insurgents, and endeavoured to effect a peaceful accommodation. The Earl of Morton made answer that they had taken arms not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; that if she would deliver up Bothwell, or put him from her company, they would return to their obedience, but that, otherwise, they would make a day of it. And then the Earl of Glencairn, who, like many present, was a mixture of the fanatic and the mercenary manœuvrer,* told the French ambassador that they were not come to that field to ask pardon for what they had done, but rather to give pardon to those that had sinned. While this lengthened conference lasted, Bothwell sent a herald offering to prove his innocence by the old ordeal of single combat. Two of the insurgents successively accepted the challenge, but Bothwell objected to both as being men of inferior rank. According to one account, he now challenged, by name, the Earl of Morton, who is said to have accepted the challenge, and to have chosen the weapons and the mode of fighting, which was to be on foot, with two-handed swords. These villains would have been fairly pitted, but neither seems to have been willing to set his life on such a cast: and, in the end, there was no fight at all between them. Lord Lindsay, it is said, offered himself in Morton's place. But Mary refused her consent to this duel; and there were no doubt many with her who were unwilling to stake their cause on the uncertain issue of a single combat. It should appear that, during this idle bravadoing, the force of the confederates was increased by arrivals from Edinburgh, which was only about five miles in their rear, and that symptoms of disaffection were observed among the queen's troops. The crisis is described in very different ways. Some say that Bothwell's heart failed him—that,

* He was one of the old pensioners of England, and a great friend of John Knox.

after demanding a promise of fidelity from the queen, he mounted his horse and galloped away for Dunbar Castle, leaving her to fall into the hands of her enemies: and Camden adds, that the nobles, with Morton, gave him secret notice to provide for himself by flight, lest, being taken, he might impeach them of the part they had had in the Darnley murder. According to another account, the queen sent a herald to desire that Kirkaldy of Grange, the best soldier of Scotland, and a man who retained some chivalrous feelings, might wait upon her to settle terms of accommodation. The lords consented, and gave the Laird of Grange full authority to treat with the queen. He proposed, it is said, in their names, that Bothwell should pass off the field until the cause might be tried, and that the queen should pass over to them, and use the counsels of her nobles, who bound themselves thenceforward to honour, serve, and obey her majesty. The queen assented, and Grange thereupon took Bothwell by the hand, and desired him to depart, promising that no one should oppose or follow him; and thus Bothwell passed away with the consent of the insurgent lords. Kirkaldy then took the queen's bridle-rein, and led her down the hill to the confederates. Morton waited upon her to ratify the promises which had been made to her on their behalf, and he assured her that she should be more honoured and obeyed than any of her progenitors had ever been. But as Mary advanced into the lines all this homage and respect vanished—the armed ranks closed around her with menacing gestures and the coarsest reproaches. The common soldiers and the rabble from Edinburgh cried out that she ought to be burned as a papist, a prostitute, and murderess. They carried her on to Edinburgh, where she arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, covered with tears and the dust of the roads, and in that state they led her on horseback through the principal streets, some of the mob carrying a white banner before her, whereon were rudely painted a figure of her husband Darnley lying strangled under a tree, and a figure of Prince James, his son, kneeling beside it, with a label issuing from his mouth with these words upon it:—"Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!"

They lodged her in the provost's house, which was beset the whole night by the yelling populace. When she arose in the morning, the first object that met her eyes was the same dismal banner. As soon as she was able, she sent Maitland to request that the estates of the realm might be summoned forthwith, as she was willing to submit to their determination—she being present and heard in defence of her own cause. But it did not suit Morton and his confederates to adopt this legal course; and on the following evening they hurried her under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated on an islet in the loch or lake which bears that name, in Kinross-shire, and commanded by the grim and ferocious Lord Lindsay of the Byers, and the murderous Ruthven (first performer in the assassination of Rizzio). This castle was chosen not only on account of its difficult situation, but because it was the property and stronghold of Sir William Douglas, a uterine brother of the Earl of Murray, and presumptive heir to Morton.* Mary was treated with excessive harshness in this her first place of captivity; and the whole conduct of the confederate lords was contrary to the agreement upon which the queen placed herself in their hands at Carberry Hill. Kirkaldy of Grange was incensed at their conduct, and upbraided them with having broken their word, and made him, an honourable soldier, the means of deceiving the queen with lies.

It was not long before Bothwell had fled the kingdom for ever. On the 26th of June there was issued an act of the privy council for apprehending him, he being charged with the murder of Darnley, and with ravaging the queen's person and enforcing her to marry him (this was, in a manner, declaring the queen innocent); and they offered a reward of a thousand crowns to any one that should bring the traitor and ravisher to Edin-

* Murray's mother, the Lady Margaret Erskine, daughter of John, fifth Earl of Marr, afterwards married Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, and by him became the mother of Sir William Douglas, who was a near connexion of James Douglas, earl of Morton.

burgh. If they had really wished to have Bothwell there, they would have pursued a very different course, and left him much less time. Some twenty days after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven, Bothwell quietly retired by water from Dunbar Castle into Murrayshire, where he stayed some time. He next sought shelter in his dukedom of Orkney, but he was refused admittance into his own castle there by his own keeper or lieutenant. In his desperate fortunes he called around him some northern pirates, and threatened to scour the seas with a blood-red flag. The lords then thought proper to despatch a small fleet after him from Leith. If they had caught him, there can be little doubt that they would have buried Bothwell and his secrets in the ocean; but he fled to the coast of Norway, where he was, after a few months, taken by the Danish government, who considered him as a pirate, and threw him into the castle of Malmoe, where he is said to have gone mad.* At the

* It is generally believed that Bothwell was detained by the Danish government in captivity till he died, in 1576, in the castle of Malmoe, in the province of Schoenen, now a part of Sweden, but which then belonged to the kingdom of Denmark. A few years ago there was discovered, in the royal library of the castle of Drottningholm, in Sweden, a narrative in French of the transactions in which Bothwell was engaged in Scotland up to the time of his flight, which appears to have been written by himself, or rather by an amanuensis at his dictation: the manuscript is corrected in various places, it is supposed by the hand of Bothwell. An English translation of this paper was given in the New Monthly Magazine (vol. xiii. pp. 521—537), and the French original has since been printed by the Bannatyne Club, 4to. Edin. 1829. This statement, however, being merely Bothwell's own account of his conduct, prepared apparently with the view of inducing the Danish government to grant him his liberty, contains nothing of much historical importance. The most interesting parts of his story are passed over very summarily; he denies, of course, that he had any hand in Darnley's murder; he merely mentions his divorce of his first wife in a marginal note; and his ravishment or seizure of the queen he does not notice at all.

point of death, nearly ten years after, he is said to have solemnly declared, upon his oath, that he himself committed the murder of Darnley by the counsels of Murray, Morton, and others; but this point, like most of the rest, is involved in doubt and obscurity, and Bothwell's dying declaration, or testament, as it was called, was purposely kept out of sight by Elizabeth, into whose hands it fell.

The confederate lords had pretended that they only kept the queen in ward till the dangerous Bothwell should be expelled the kingdom; and Elizabeth, or Cecil for her, represented to foreign courts that England would make efforts for Mary's liberation as soon as Bothwell should be out of the kingdom; but, when this expulsion had really been effected, the lords kept her in as close confinement as ever, and, changing their tone altogether, they declared that she should be dethroned on account of misgovernment, and compelled to resign her crown to her infant son, or, in other words, the entire government to her half-brother, Murray, and his party. There was, however, a strong party that opposed this violent scheme, thinking that they had gone far enough already, and that the queen might now be safely trusted with the government. By the end of June, many of the noblest families of Scotland, including the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntley, the gallant Lord Herries, and others, began to devise measures for her protection, and insisted that she ought to be restored to her liberty and her throne, upon certain equitable conditions. But Mary's enemies were more powerful than these friends, and the townspeople very generally were set against her, and induced by their preachers to cry aloud, not merely for her dethronement, but for her execution. Knox and his followers, who had not waited for the murder of Darnley and the marriage with Bothwell to declare their queen an idolatress, a Jezebel, a woman marked with the reprobation of the Lord, now impatiently demanded her death. On the 18th of June, the day after Mary's journey to Lochleven, the Earl of Glencairn, with his servants and a set of

fanatics, went into the queen's chapel at Holyrood, broke down the altar, and demolished the pictures, images, and ornaments. The preachers highly commended this work of great godliness; but we are not informed what they said to another transaction which took place on the same day: for the insurgent nobles seized all the queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, without anything like a legal authority. The confederates now assumed the title of the "Lords of the Secret Council"—an appropriate name. The Earls of Athole, Marr, and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Hume, Sempil, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree, were members of this council; but the real leader was the Earl of Morton. Having let Bothwell escape—and it seems that they were also glad to see Sebastian, the queen's French servant, who was strongly suspected, get safe out of the kingdom—they seized Captain Blackadder and a few very obscure persons. The captain was condemned and executed for Darnley's murder; but at his death he would no ways confess himself guilty. Four others, by orders of the Lords of the Secret Council, were *ironed and tormented*, then tried, and executed; but the lords did not find it convenient to publish either their trials or their confessions. On the 23rd of July, Villeroy had arrived on a special mission from France, and desired to speak with the queen; but the lords, who expected no favour from that side, refused to admit him. A very different reception was given to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a special envoy from Elizabeth, who found himself among old friends, and who in a very few days recommended his mistress to be favourable to the Lords of the Secret Council, *who could do her best service.* Soon after, Throgmorton informed his court that he could get no access to Queen Mary, whose life was in great danger, and that he found it would be difficult, if not impossible, to induce the lords to send Prince James into England,—a plan which, for obvious reasons, Elizabeth and Cecil had much at heart. He mentions having had some conference with Mr. Knox and Mr. Craig, whom he had requested, as he

says, to preach and persuade unity.* The Assembly of the Kirk having met at Edinburgh, chose George Buchanan for their moderator, and put themselves in close league with the Lords of the Secret Council—known villains and murderers, it is true, but who declared that their sole object was to promote true religion and abolish papistry. And, to increase the prevailing enthusiasm, the assembly appointed a public fast to be held in Edinburgh for a whole week; and it was proclaimed in every sermon, in the hearing of many applauding assassins, dyed deep in recent and in old blood, and in treacheries and conspiracies too numerous to count, that heaven would never avert its wrath from the land till that murderess the queen was brought to condign punishment.† Elizabeth, meanwhile, made a decent show of remonstrating with the Lords of the Secret Council on the undutifulness of their conduct; but she did nothing to prevent it or succour her relative Mary; and Throgmorton, her negotiator, was the bosom friend of those lords, and a man that, both upon political and religious grounds, would rejoice at the overthrow of the popish queen. Throgmorton, as we have seen, was denied access to Mary. The communications he received from her, or concerning her, were all conveyed through Maitland or the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven; and hence, to say nothing of his *own violent prejudices*, his despatches to the English court are not entitled to all the credit which has been given to them as historical documents.‡ The two great and real objects of his mission were to get

* Harl. MS., quoted by Raumer.

† John Knox himself seems to have been the fiercest of all the preachers.

‡ His chief informer was the crafty Maitland of Lethington, and Throgmorton was too experienced a diplomatist to place much faith in such a man. Such expressions as these escape him, even in detailing the Secretary's news,—"*If* there be any truth in Lethington."....."If Lethington be not the greatest of liars." But Throgmorton could pretend to believe whenever the story went against Mary.

possession of Prince James and to prevent Mary's going to France.

At the same time these cunning workmen threatened the French court that, if it made any effort in favour of the captive queen, they would throw themselves wholly into the arms of the English, and, peradventure, make Mary taste of sharper pangs. And the Hamiltons and the rest of the nobles opposed to the Lords of the Secret Council took no steps for her release, waiting, it should seem, for the return of their head, the Duke of Chatelherault, who, as well as the Earl of Murray, was absent in France. Thus abandoned by all, and beset with dangers and threats of death and worse, the captive queen, on the 24th of July, put her hand to a deed in the presence of Ruthven, Lindsay, and Sir Robert Melville,* by which she resigned the crown in favour of the baby James, then about fourteen months old. At the same time she was forced to sign a commission appointing her half-brother Murray to be regent during the minority of her son. Lindsay and Ruthven, who were chosen for the business on account of their superior brutality, solemnly swore that the deeds had been signed freely and willingly.

Now was the time for the Earl of Murray to return to Scotland; but he was careful to take London in his way; and, if we could learn what passed then between him and Elizabeth and Cecil, we should have the clue to many mysteries. Murray left London on the 31st

* Afterwards created Baron Melville, an elder brother of Sir James Melville, the author of the Memoirs, and also, it is supposed, of Sir Andrew Melville, who appears in attendance on Queen Mary at her death. These three Melvilles, sons of the Laird of Raith in Fife, from whom are descended the Earls of Leven and Melville, are not to be confounded with their countrymen and contemporaries, Andrew Melvill, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's, one of the most distinguished of the friends and fellow-labourers of Knox, and his relation James Melvill, minister of Anstruther, whose curious Diary, or Memoir of his own Life, has recently been printed by the Bannatyne Club (4to. Edit. 1829).

of July, about a week after his sister had been made to sign the deeds in Lochleven Castle. When he reached Berwick he was met by a deputation from the Lords: when he reached Edinburgh, on the 11th of August, he was received with all honour and joy by Morton, Ruthven (son of the murderer of Rizzio), Maitland, John Knox, and all the preachers,—for, in their eyes, he was the most godly of all the godly lords. It was evidently not without calculation that the astute Murray did not arrive till after the coronation of his nephew. That precious ceremony had been performed at Stirling on the 29th of July. Throgmorton had orders not to attend; and it appears that none of the foreign ambassadors were present. About the middle of August, Murray, with others, went to Lochleven, where he held a "long conference with Mary, in which he told her all her bad government, and left her that night with no hopes of life, and desired her to seek God's mercy, which was the only refuge she could expect." Next day, Murray gave her some hope of life and preservation of her honour, telling her that her liberty lay not in his power, and that it was not her interest to ask it,—that the things that would hazard her life were any disturbance or rising made in her favour, any attempt to escape from her prison, any encouragement given to her party, any engagement on her part to induce either the French king or English queen to attempt her liberty by force or treaty, or any further signs of affection for Bothwell. In conclusion, Murray exhorted his sister to repent of her sins, and regard the confederate lords as her best friends, who only sought the reformation of her religion and morals. Murray had already professed a decent reluctance to step into his sister's place; and so, on the 22nd of August he was proclaimed regent, protesting "that it was now past deliberation; and as for ignominy and calumniation, he had no other defence against it but the goodness of God, his upright conscience, and his intent to deal sincerely in his office."* One of his first

* Throgmorton's Letters to Elizabeth, quoted by Raumer and Wright.

measures was to destroy the seals which bore the name and titles of the queen; his next to get possession of Edinburgh Castle: and, on the 24th of the same month, Sir James Balfour, Bothwell's lieutenant, who had for some time been driving a good bargain for himself, surrendered the fortress, upon condition of having a free pardon for his concern in Darnley's murder, a pension out of the revenues of the Priory of St. Andrew's for his son, and five thousand pounds in cash. On the 30th of September, being aided by Morton, the regent got possession of the strong castle of Dunbar. Soon after he heaped fresh honours and emoluments upon the murderer Morton, thus confirming the suspicions of thousands, that this man had done his business during his absence in France. He restored him to the office of chancellor, which he had forfeited by keeping the door while Ruthven and his satellites murdered Rizzio; and to this high legal office, by a curious combination, he added that of lord high-admiral, which was left vacant by the flight and attainder of Bothwell. Morton, chancellor and high-admiral, was also made sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh and Haddington, and received sundry other emoluments. He accompanied the regent on an expedition to the south, where, under pretence of punishing the moss-troopers on the borders, they took vengeance on several districts which had manifested an affection for the captive queen. Whenever there was a fine to be imposed Morton was there with an open palm. If this curious revolution had been conducted with any attention to constitutional forms, a parliament would have been called at least six months earlier; but at last Murray assembled one at Edinburgh on the 15th of December, in order to legalise the recent changes. The Hamiltons kept away; the seats were crowded with the partisans of Murray; Morton presided as chancellor, and his nephew Angus, a boy of fourteen, carried the royal crown, and voted with his uncle. John Knox preached at the opening of this parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion. It was not likely that this subject should be neglected, for

Murray's main strength was in the preachers, whom, however, he left almost as poor as he found them. All the acts which had been passed in 1560 against popery were revived, and new statutes, in accordance with the spirit of the times, were added to them. Other acts were passed confirming all that had been done in the deposition of the queen, and the appointment of Murray to the regency.

On the 3rd of January, four obscure men, servants and retainers of Bothwell, were executed for assisting in the murder of Darnley: it is said that they all acknowledged their guilt, and acquitted the queen. But by this time —in part, no doubt, owing to the awkward course pursued in parliament and in the privy council,—in part from the favours heaped upon Morton and others who had gone hand in hand with Bothwell to the very last moment—many who before had deemed Mary guilty, now began to consider her as innocent—as a victim to the craft and villany of others. The Hamiltons still banded together; all who were disappointed in their hopes of profit and advancement from the revolution, joined them more or less openly; and nothing was wanting but the presence of the queen to induce these men to try the fortune of the sword. Mary was most vigilantly watched; but she was resolute, she was adroit, and she possessed in her person and manner a charm which few men could resist. She had also beyond her prison walls and the deep waters of Lochleven friends and servants who were enthusiastically attached to her, and ready at every moment to peril life in her behalf. Communications were opened with the islet; bands were stationed in ambush round the loch; horses were provided, the fleetest that money could procure. "On the 25th of March," writes Sir William Drury to Cecil, "she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nearer effect through her accustomed long being a-bed all the morning."* But notwithstanding this failure, and the

* Raumer, *Contributions to Mod. Hist.*, has given part of this letter, but the whole of it is in Wright's *Eliz. and her Times.*

consequent increase of vigilance in her keepers, the queen repeated her attempt on the 2nd of May. Within the castle there was a lad of seventeen or eighteen, called William Douglas, or the "Little Douglas," who is supposed to have been a relative, either legitimate or illegitimate, both of the lord of the castle and of the Regent Murray. He is described as being a poor and simple lad, who escaped suspicion on account of his innocence and simplicity. He stole the keys of the castle from the keeper's chamber, where they were always deposited, set the queen at liberty in the middle of the night, locked the castle gates upon all the inmates, threw the keys into the loch, led the queen with one female attendant to a little skiff, and then rowed her to shore. There the Lord Seton, George Douglas, and a party of the Hamiltons, received her with transports of joy, and carried her in triumph to Hamilton. Many of her friends were prepared; others came in on the morrow, and a solemn association for her defence was drawn up and signed by the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglintoun, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, by nine barons, by nine bishops, and by many other gentlemen. These chiefs presently brought four or five thousand men into the field, and, placing the queen in their centre, they moved from Hamilton towards Dumbarton. The Regent Murray was lying at Glasgow, holding courts of justice. At first he was thunderstruck, and would not believe in the possibility of his sister's escape. Some of his friends advised him to retire from Glasgow to Stirling, and avoid an encounter; but Murray, who was a good soldier, knew the difference between the undisciplined host that followed the queen and the regular troops which he had about him; and he also counted on the resources of the town of Glasgow, and the religious zeal of its inhabitants. Mary offered a free pardon to all save five—the Earl of Morton, the Lord Lindsay, the Lord Semple, Sir James Balfour, and the provost of Edinburgh; but the lords were not inclined to any composition, but spoke of killing the queen, whom they had found so difficult a prisoner. The

two armies met on the 14th of May, at Langside, between Glasgow and Dumbarton, and attacked each other with desperate fury. Mary remained on an adjacent hill, the spectatress of the doubtful fight. Now victory appeared to incline to her party; but anon her evil genius Morton, sweeping round an eminence with a strong detachment, charged her friends in flank, broke them and decided the day. The defeated fled in all directions; and the queen herself, attended by the Lord Herries and a few other friends, rode almost without stopping to Dundrennan Abbey, in Galloway, near to Kirkcudbright, and sixty miles from the field of battle. Here she was brought to an awful pause. There were only three courses open to her:—she might remain, and throw herself upon the mercy of her subjects—upon men who had shown her little mercy;—she might fly to France;—or, lastly, she might seek a refuge in England. The first she naturally avoided as what would lead to certain destruction: she would have adopted the second, but there was no ship to France; and the voyage, whether she circumnavigated England or Scotland, was dangerous on many accounts, besides that of the elements. There remained, then, the desperate resource of a flight into England, and upon this she finally resolved. Her wisest counsellors represented this course as the most dangerous of the three; but Mary would not believe her royal sister Elizabeth capable of the conduct they surmised. The Lord Herries then wrote to Lowther, the deputy captain at Carlisle, informing him of his queen's situation, and asking whether she might go safely into England. Elizabeth could not have had time to hear of the battle of Langside, and to send down positive instructions, but she was certainly well informed by this time that Mary had no chance of success, and might have given orders in contemplation of a sure defeat; or, again, her officers near the Borders who were in communication with Murray, might of themselves have devised a plan for entrapping the fugitive queen without any direct breach of promise on the part of the high authorities. Lowther, the deputy, wrote

a doubtful answer, saying that Lord Scrope, the warden of that march, was at court, whither he had written; but if the queen found herself obliged to cross the Borders he would meet and protect her till his mistress's pleasure was known. Without waiting for this letter,* Mary, with sixteen attendants, the chief of whom was the honest and gallant Lord Herries, embarked in a common fishing-boat to cross the Solway Frith; and on the evening of Sunday, the 16th of May, 1568, she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, without money, without a change of raiment—with nothing but the tender affection of her almost helpless retinue, and her hope in the magnanimity of Elizabeth. She immediately wrote to that "good sister," informing her of her misfortunes, and her arrival in her dominions. Some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who probably entertained just notions of the sacred rights of hospitality, gave her a kind reception, and honourably conducted her to Cockermouth, where, on the following day, Lowther waited upon her with what appears to have been a little army. On the following day Mary was conducted to Carlisle, and lodged in the castle, not as a royal and unfortunate guest, but as a prisoner. Sir Francis Knollys, who was sent down post to the north with letters and "messages of comfort" from Elizabeth, greatly praised Lowther's good behaviour and discretion towards her highness, in securing the fugitive queen, and in refusing to admit the Earl of Northumberland into Carlisle Castle with any more company than his page. It is evident that even at this moment Northumberland was an object of suspicion. Knollys, in mentioning that the earl met him in Yorkshire, says, that he had with him Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Sir William Fairfax, his son, Mr. Hungate, and Mr. Vavasor, who were "all unsound in religion," and had been with his lordship at Carlisle. The great uneasiness of Elizabeth as to any communication between her

* The letter was not received, it should appear, till Mary was in England; but we think that the view in which it was written is most obvious.

royal prisoner and her own subjects professing the ancient religion, is a very significant feature in the history. Lord Scrope, the warden and governor of Carlisle, was despatched from Cork nearly at the same time as Knollys, and they both waited upon Queen Mary in Carlisle Castle, apparently on the 28th or 29th of May, having previously spoken with Lord Herries, who hoped that Queen Elizabeth would either give his mistress aid and comfort, or permit her to pass through England into France to seek relief elsewhere. They delivered their sovereign's letter, in which Mary was told that Elizabeth could not honourably receive her into her presence until she was cleared of all suspicion of being concerned in Darnley's murder. Mary had expected a different treatment. She solemnly affirmed to Scrope and Knollys, that both Maitland of Lethington and the Lord Morton had been concerned in the murder of her husband, as could well be proved, although now they would seem to prosecute the murderers. The two envoys repeated that their mistress was "inwardly sorry and very much grieved" that she "could not do her that great honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into her presence by reason of this great slander of murder; but they assured her of her highness's great affection, and that if she would depend upon her highness's favour without seeking to bring in strangers into Scotland, then undoubtedly her highness would use all the convenient means she could for her relief and comfort. Mary agreed to send up Lord Herries to London to plead her cause with Elizabeth, and she then dismissed Scrope and Knollys, "complaining of delays to her prejudice, and the winning of time to her enemies."

On the following day, or the day after,—it was the 30th of May,—Knollys and Scrope had another interview with Mary, who inveighed against her brother Murray and his adherents, saying, among other things, "that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her, but now that she was twenty-four years old they would exclude her from the government." Knollys, who was fully aware of the

main course which his royal mistress meant to pursue (for the silver box, with letters from Mary to Darnley, true or forged, which was afterwards brought into the case, had really no weight whatever in Elizabeth's decision), ventured to tell the Scottish queen that, in some cases, princes might be deposed by their subjects lawfully; and he mentioned the case of a prince falling into madness. "And," added he, "what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering?" Mary, however, had almost captivated the cautious vice-chamberlain with her beauty, and spirit, and graceful familiarity. "And yet," he says, "this lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour besides the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils, in hope of victory. . . . . So that, for victory sake, pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her; and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess,—or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom,—or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment." The vice-chamberlain then proceeds to recommend a bold and direct course, in order to prevent any danger to Elizabeth.* From the tone of his letter he was evidently not very particular as to the proofs which might be brought against Mary;—it was only necessary to declare her guilty, and so prevent any mischief to Queen Elizabeth, who, by such a sentence, would be justified in assisting the regent Murray, and keeping his sister a close prisoner.

Lord Herries did little good with Elizabeth, who induced him, in a manner, to appoint her judge or arbitrator between Mary and her subjects. At his solicitation,

* Sir Henry Ellis has a part of this letter in his Collection, but the whole of it is given by Mr. Wright, in *Queen Eliz. and her Times.*

however, the English queen thought fit to send an agent, Mr. Middlemore (or Meddlemore), into Scotland to stop the civil war there; for Mary's partisans, though sorely pressed and persecuted, were not wholly discouraged by the battle of Langside, and the Earls of Huntley and Argyle were up in arms in her favour. This Middlemore, whose secret instructions were no doubt of a very different kind from that which was given out, travelled northward with Lord Herries, to the great "discontentation" of Sir Francis Knollys, who was not let into all the secret, or informed of the real object of his errand. But as soon as this Mr. Middlemore got across the Borders, he hastened rather than retarded Murray's business, and encouraged the regent in his energetic measures against those who favoured the queen. On the 21st of June the Scottish queen wrote a striking letter to her good sister and cousin, which was forwarded to London by means of a gentleman who had been despatched by the French court to ascertain the real situation of the fugitive, and the manner in which she was treated in England.* Here the captive complains that Middlemore, who was sent, as was pretended, as a safeguard to her faithful subjects, had allied himself with her enemies, who, in her presence, had destroyed the house of one of her principal barons, and who were now treating her friends and adherents more harshly than ever. "Mine enemies," she continues, "proceed still farther, and boast that they are authorised *by him;* and while they are executing their enterprise, which tends to the conquest of my kingdom, they abuse you, with a hope of proving to you their false calumnies, which the unequal treatment we are receiving would make me fear, if my innocence and reliance on God, who has hitherto protected me, did not give me assurance. For consider, madam, they have now the authority which belongs to me,—the sovereign power by usurpation,—my property to bribe and corrupt,—the

* As to her treatment, Mary says, in this same letter to Elizabeth, "It grieves me to have so little occasion to praise the behaviour of your ministers, for of yourself I cannot and will not complain."

finesses which are at their command throughout the country,—and your own ministers, who, day by day (at least some of them), write to them and advise them what to do that they may convince you. Would to God you knew what I know of them!" "I cannot do less," she continues, "than complain to you, and beg you to send for me, that you may hear my griefs, and assist me as promptly as necessity requires, or permit me to retire into France or elsewhere. . . . . And I entreat you, as you see what are the effects, do not make an unequal combat, they being armed, and I destitute: on the contrary, seeing the dishonour they do me, make up your mind to assist me or let me go; for, without waiting for their giving me a third assault, I must supplicate both the King of France and the King of Spain if you will not have regard to my just quarrel; and they, restoring me to my place, then will I make you know their falsehood and my innocence: for if you let them conquer the country first, and then come to accuse me after, what shall I have gained by submitting my cause to you? . . . I blame no one; but the very worm of the earth turns when it is trodden upon."*

On the same day on which she wrote this letter, Mary told Knollys that she expected to be let go into France, or to be put safely into Dumbarton Castle—"unless," she added, "she will hold me as a prisoner, for I am sure that her highness will not of her honour put me into my Lord of Murray's hands." Under her circumstances, nothing could be more imprudent than her continual talk about France and Spain; but she again assured Knollys that she would seek aid in those quarters, *because* she had promised her people aid by August. "And she said that she had found that true which she had heard often of before her coming hither, which was, that she should have fair words enow, but no deeds. . . . . And, saith she, I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God

* Burghley State Papers. The letter is dated Carlisle, the 21st of June. Like all Mary's letters, except a very few, it is in French.

I make no troubles in other realms also."* This, if true, was another imprudence. Knollys was, or pretended to be, much startled: and he again advised a close union with Murray, throwing a little devout unction into his worldly policy and tenderness for Elizabeth. Other courtiers and statesmen did their best to increase the alarm. Sir Henry Norris wrote from Paris to warn Cecil, on the authority of an anonymous informer, that the queen's majesty "did now hold the wolf that would devour her," and that "it is conspired betwixt the King of Spain, the pope, and the French king, that the queen's majesty should be destroyed, whereby the Queen of Scots might succeed her majesty."† This alarm, considering where Mary then was, was rather ridiculous, yet scarcely more so than some of the hundred other stories which followed in a *crescendo* of horrors, and which never ceased till Elizabeth had brought her rival to the block. It was soon resolved to carry her further into the realm to some place of greater safety, being "well moated round." Mary made a spirited protest, that was of no avail; and on the 16th of July she was carried under a strong escort to Bolton Castle, a house of Lord Scrope's, in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Middleham.‡ By this removal Mary was cut off from all communication with her subjects, excepting such as Elizabeth chose to admit. Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope dealt very sharply with all English subjects that attempted to see or correspond with the captive, particularly if they were papists. They thought Bolton Castle a much safer place than Carlisle, but, at the same time,

* Letter from Knollys to Cecil, dated 21st of June, 1568.

† Burghley Papers.

‡ Before she was removed from Carlisle she wrote once again, or oftener, to Elizabeth, whom she reminded of promises of protection which she had recently sent to her in Scotland. She implored her to suffer her to depart "whithersoever it be out of this country." "I came," said she, "of mine own accord—let me depart again with yours; and if God permit my cause to succeed, I shall be bound to you for it; happening otherwise, yet I cannot blame you."—*Ellis.*

they suggested that their prisoner should be moved still farther from the Borders, telling Cecil, however, that Mary, though otherwise very quiet and very tractable, declared that she would not remove any farther into the realm without constraint. On the 28th of July, Mary wrote another letter to Elizabeth, telling her that she relied on her former promises, and expected that she would replace her in her kingdom, when she had heard her justify her own conduct, and expose that of her enemies. She consented that Murray and Morton should be heard on the other side, as Elizabeth required, and that these two lords should come into England for that purpose. She assured the English queen that she had warned her faithful subjects who were still up in arms for her to abstain from hostilities and the seeking of any aid from France; that she herself had withheld her despatches to France and Spain, in order to avoid contracting any further obligations in those parts, desiring that if she were to be reinstated it might be only by means of the English court.* The whole of this letter is cool and diplomatic, except where she speaks of Murray.† Elizabeth, however, cared little for her warmth on this head, for she and the regent had come to a perfectly good understanding. Murray, on his side, had a confident reliance on Cecil: and he sent up his secretary John Wood to London, to show the minister and the queen copies of sundry secret papers. The regent, however, was not so ready as his imprisoned sister to bring matters to an issue; and though Elizabeth wrote to him to come into England with a commissioner to treat and to answer to the Scottish queen's complaint, he found it very easy to delay so doing till the month of October; and during all that time he was allowed to establish his own authority in Scotland, and was even assisted by Elizabeth in so doing. It will strike every reader, that there was no possibility

* Burghley State Papers.

† Mary had begun to call Murray *mon frère bastard*—my bastard brother; and in this particular letter she reminds Elizabeth that Murray is only related to her majesty of England *par bastardise*.

of constituting a court to try Mary, and, until the very last moment, it was pretended that Elizabeth would merely arbitrate in a friendly manner, or that, if any party was to be tried, it should be Murray with his adherents. But Herries clearly foresaw the course which would be pursued, and he guarded against it as well as he could with forms and declarations of his sovereign's entire independence of the English crown. Elizabeth declared that if Mary would "commit her cause to be heard by her highness's order, not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as committing herself to the council of her dear cousin and friend," her highness would treat with the Scottish nobles, and bring things to a happy conclusion. Elizabeth would, for example, restore the Queen of Scots to her royal seat, by honourable accommodation, the Queen of Scots agreeing, that the lords and all her other subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities; and this was the promise in case of Murray making out "some reason against her;" but, if Murray and his party should fail in proving anything against the queen, then her majesty Elizabeth would replace Mary absolutely by force of arms, Mary agreeing in this case, and as a reward for Elizabeth's assistance, to renounce all claims to England; to convert her close alliance with France into a league with England; and to use the counsel of her dearest sister and her estates in parliament in abolishing papistry, encouraging protestantism, and in establishing in her dominion the episcopal and Anglican church—an order of things considered by John Knox and the whole body of the puritans as only a few degrees less idolatrous than the church of Rome. Thus, in all cases, Mary was promised her liberty and her restoration to her kingdom. But very different language had been held in secret with Murray: to him it had been declared, that if he could establish his sister's guilt, she should never return to Scotland; and it had also been intimated that he could *easily* prove what he desired.

The famous commission met at York on the 4th of October. Elizabeth was represented by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who

was still alive and stirring, though this business was destined to embitter his old age. Mary was represented by Lesley, bishop of Ross, the Lords Herries, Levingston, and Boyd, Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Stirling: the regent Murray appeared in person, attended by the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord Lindsay, the Abbot of Dunfermline, Maitland of Lethington, James M'Gill, Henry Balnaves, the laird of Lochleven, and George Buchanan (the celebrated poet and historian). On the 8th of October the friends of Mary, as the plaintiff, were allowed to open the charges against Murray and his associates. In the afternoon of the same day Murray and his colleagues artfully said to the Duke of Norfolk that they were "desirous to understand that, if in this action they shall prove all things directly wherewith they may and do emburden the queen, their sovereign's mother, how they be assured to be free and without danger of the said queen's displeasure, and what surety may be had for the young prince, their king, if *she* should be restored to her former estate?" Elizabeth's commissioners, who, against the spirit of the agreement, had allowed Murray to refuse his sister the title of sovereign, and to advance the coronation of the infant James as a constitutional act, now departed still more widely from the promises which had been given to Mary and her agent Lord Herries. They said that, indeed, their mistress's desire "hath always been, from the beginning, that the said queen might be found free, specially from the crime of her husband's murder; nevertheless, if her majesty shall find to be plainly and manifestly proved (whereof she would be very sorry) that the said Queen of Scots was the deviser and procurer of that murder, or otherwise was guilty thereof, surely her majesty would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience in maintenance of such a detestable wickedness by restoring her to a kingdom."* Murray then declared that it

* Burghley Papers.

was set forth and published in Scotland, that Mary should be either amply restored, or otherwise by some degrees restored, and sent home amongst them, by the Queen of England. Elizabeth's commissioners, with a bold face, denied that any such promise had ever been made. But Murray was not fully satisfied, suspecting that, although the Queen of Scots were not wholly restored, yet she might, "peradventure, be relieved in some degrees by the queen's majesty, which might breed unto them no little danger."* On the following day, when he and his commissioners were to give in their reasons against Mary, Maitland raised certain doubts as to the extent of the commission given by Elizabeth to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler: 1st. "For that they see no express words in the commission to authorise her grace's commissioners to deal in the matter of the murder;" 2ndly. "That delay might be made in judgment, which would be very dangerous to them." He then, with Murray and the other commissioners of that side, moved that Elizabeth ought to be advertised of these their doubts, "specially for that it standeth them upon, and they think it very reasonable that her grace should put them in sufficient surety to be free from danger of the queen, their sovereign's mother, before they enter to declare against her." A letter was, therefore, despatched to Elizabeth to request additional instructions.

But Murray and Maitland certainly did not wait for an answer to charge Mary with such things, as, to use their own words, they had "hitherto been content rather to conceal than publish to the world to her infamy and dishonour."† They secretly laid before the English commissioners translations of certain letters in French, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, some just before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage; and a collection of love sonnets, described as being the queen's

* Burghley State Papers. The transactions of the commission at York are given day by day.

† Goodall.

composition, and as sent by her to Bothwell. On the 11th of October, before any answer could have possibly been received from court, the English commissioners made an abstract from these papers, which might tend to Mary's condemnation for "*her* consent and procurement of the murder of her husband, as far forth as they could by their reading gather." They had evidently read the letters and the amorous rhymes with great attention; but they omitted altogether making any inquiry touching the authenticity of these papers, which from first to last Mary and her friends maintained were forgeries. They assumed, "from plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, that the inordinate and filthy love between Mary and Bothwell" was proved;—that she had hated and abhorred her husband Darnley;—that she had taken her journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, to visit him when sick, with the intent of inveigling him to Edinburgh, where he was murdered, &c.* These sweeping conclusions, as well as the documents upon which they were founded, were carefully concealed from Mary's commissioners, who were requested to seek an enlargement of their commission, or, in other words, to ask their mistress to agree, in the dark, to acknowledge Elizabeth's authority. Lord Herries raised some objections, but Mary agreed to alter the words of her commission, and add a clause that her commissioners might treat, conclude, and determine all matters and causes whatsoever in controversy betwen her and her subjects.† She still, however, maintained the perfect independence of her crown, while Murray and her enemies now showed themselves ready to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy over Scotland, that, as "superior lady and judge over that realm, she might determine in this case." In order to consume time, Murray presented to the commissioners an answer to the charges of his queen, in which he alleged that his friends had never taken up arms but against Bothwell,—that they had afterwards sequestrated their queen because she adhered to Bothwell,—and that they

* Burghley Papers. † Ibid.

had at last accepted her resignation, which was willingly given merely from her disgust at the vexations attending power, and never extorted from her. To this Mary's commissioners replied, that the queen had no means of knowing the atrocities of Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a Scottish jury, and recommended to her as a husband by the Scottish nobility,—that she had ever been desirous that Bothwell should be arrested and brought to trial,—that the resignation of the crown was extorted from her,—and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving her life; assuring her, at the same time, that, under circumstances, such an act could never be considered binding on her part. Mary had by far the best in the controversy; but she did not know that she was only fighting with shadows. The city of York in the mean time had become the scene of the most complicated intrigues. The Duke of Chatelherault, who had lately returned from France, made a faint effort in favour of Mary. Other Scottish nobles were anxious for a compromise, and the settlement of a government in which they should all have a part: and Murray at this moment would have agreed to allow his sister a large revenue, provided she would confirm her resignation of the crown, and consent to reside in England with an English husband. We profess our utter inability to understand the complex game,—we do not believe that it ever has been, or ever will be, clearly understood: but the words of the Earl of Sussex, one of Elizabeth's commissioners, contained an undisputed fact, which is that these parties tossed between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, caring neither for the mother nor the child, but seeking to serve their own turns without any reference either to Mary's guilt or innocence.* Maitland, whose ways were always inscrutable, suggested a marriage be-

* See Sussex's letter from York, in Lodge. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the commission, also said,—"Some seek wholly to serve their own particular turns, the which being done, they care not what becomes either of queen or king." —Goodall.

tween Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, her divorce from Bothwell being effected; and he had the address to bring Norfolk, perhaps Mary herself, into this scheme. But what seems the most extraordinary part of this story is, that the regent Murray himself entered into the project, and professed a great earnestness for the marriage with Norfolk, whose favour with Elizabeth, he pretended, would enable him to procure tranquillity to Scotland, and place the Protestant religion in security. It is barely possible to understand how Murray could fall in with such a scheme,* even for the moment; but he may have been spell-bound by the superior craft and audacity of Maitland, whose whole soul was an intrigue, and who, since his late arrival in England, may have even proposed to himself the daring scheme of overthrowing Elizabeth and of placing Mary on her throne. It did not require his talent to see that the whole Catholic population of England was oppressed, — that many Protestants were averse to her government,—and that the Duke of Norfolk, who was both rich and brave, had an immense party in the north, counting among his friends the great Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who, upon many grounds, were dissatisfied with the queen and with Cecil. Maitland of late had not been eager to press the question of Mary's guilt, and, even if he had done so, it would cost little to a supple man like him to change his tack, and hold her up as the model of queens and women. And he certainly assured Norfolk that Mary was innocent of her husband's murder. But Maitland was watched with vigilant eyes: his intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk were discovered, and an order came suddenly down from London for the instant removal of the conference from York to Westminster. Elizabeth now openly declared that Mary should never be restored to the crown of Scotland if Murray could make good his accusations; and she assumed as a right that she and her privy coun-

* At a later period, when Murray wanted to return to Edinburgh, there was a reason why he should *pretend* to approve of the projected match.

cil should proceed to sentence.* At the same time Elizabeth joined Leicester, Cecil, Bacon, and others to the commission, and commanded the immediate attendance not only of Norfolk and Sussex, who had purposely kept out of the way, but also of the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Huntingdon, of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Mary, it should appear, made no complaint until she learned that Murray had been admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, in violation of a promise given by the English queen; but then she ordered her commissioners to require of Elizabeth, in the presence of her court and the foreign ambassadors, that she, too, might be allowed to go up to London, in order to meet her accusers face to face. Mary's commissioners were coldly received; and the opposite party were not only encouraged, but excited by Elizabeth and Cecil to urge publicly their charges. At the end of November, Murray, therefore, declared that Mary had been "persuader and commander" of the murder of her husband: and here he ought to have stopped; but he went on to add the incredible charge (which cast a doubt on all the rest) that she had also intended to cause the death of the innocent prince, her own son, "and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant." Mary's stedfast friends, the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, then demanded of Elizabeth, that, as she had admitted Murray and his associates into her presence to accuse their queen, she would also be pleased to admit into the same presence Mary herself, to prove her own innocence; and they represented, at the same time, that the accusers of their sovereign ought to be detained in the country. Elizabeth replied that this was a difficult subject, which required long deliberation; and she would never give any other answer to their requests. Mary's commissioners then did what they ought to have done long

* Proceedings in the council at Hampton Court, 30th of October.—Burghley Papers.

before:—with the advice of the French and Spanish ambassadors, they declared the conference to be at an end.* But Cecil would not accept their protest and declaration, and the mock conference went on all on one side.

At last came the decisive moment, and on the 14th of December the Earl of Murray produced a silver box or casket full of the *original* love-letters, sonnets, &c.; and he contended that these unproved and unsifted documents, together with a previous decree of the Scottish parliament, were quite sufficient to establish the queen's guilt. Elizabeth had had copies of these documents long before, but she was desirous that there should be an open and unreserved production of the originals. The papers were laid before the privy council, including Norfolk, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Leicester, and all the great earls, and letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were laid beside them, that the hand-writings might be compared. But, instead of asking the council to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, Elizabeth merely told them that Mary had demanded to be allowed to answer to the charges in the royal presence, and that she now thought it inconsistent with her modesty and reputation as a virgin queen to admit her. And on the following day she sent for the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, and told them that she never could receive their mistress into her company, and that Mary ought to answer the charges in some way, or submit to eternal infamy. If we are to believe the Spanish ambassador, Elizabeth and her minister had been thwarted in council by the great earls, some of whom had shown a little spirit, and checked a little the terrible fury with which Secretary Cecil sought to destroy Mary: but we can scarcely believe that, under any circumstances, either Elizabeth or Cecil wished at present to do more than cover the captive queen with disgrace, and to oppress her with imputations of enormous guilt which might render her odious and harmless. Mary, though labouring

* Goodall.

under every difficulty, would not sit down in silence like a convicted criminal, and she rejected, with scorn, a proposal made to her by Knollys, at Elizabeth's orders, that she should ratify her resignation of the crown, and so save her honour—her enemies upon that condition agreeing not to publish their proofs against her.* She immediately wrote to her commissioners, bidding them declare to Elizabeth and her council, that, "where Murray and his accomplices had said that she knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commanded the murder of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the crime whereof they themselves were authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the proper executioners."† She solemnly denied that she had stopped inquiry and due punishment. "And," she continued, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our dear son, alleging we intended to have caused him follow his father hastily: howbeit the natural love a mother beareth to her only child is sufficient to confound them, and merits no other answer: yet, considering their proceedings by-past, who did him wrong in our womb, intending to have slain him and us both, there is none of good judgment but they may easily perceive their hypocrisies, with how they would fortify themselves in our son's name till their tyranny be better established." She then revoked her order for breaking up the conference, saying, "And, to the effect our good sister may understand we are not willing to let their false invented allegations pass over in silence, (adhering to our former protestations) we shall desire the inspection and doubles of all they have produced against us; and that we may see the alleged principal writings, if they have any, produced. And with God's grace we shall first make such answer thereto, that our innocence shall be known to our good sister, and all other princes, so that we but have our good sister's presence, as our adversary has had, and reasonable space and time to get such veri-

* Burghley State Papers.—Goodall.
† Burghley State Papers.

fication as pertains thereto." Elizabeth took no notice of this remonstrance, and Murray's silver box was never submitted to examination. The Bishop of Ross put into Elizabeth's own hands a plain and striking defence to the charges which had been produced, affirming—1. That nothing was alleged but presumptions. 2. That it could not be proved that the letters in Murray's box had been written with her own hand; "and she was of too much honour to commit such a fact, and of too much wit to have conceived such matter in writing." 3. That neither her hand, nor seal, nor date was to the letters, nor any direction to any. 4. That her hand might easily be counterfeited: "whereof some assistant to the adversary, as well of other nations, as of Scots, can do it;" and that, "by comparison of writings, no truth can be had." 5. That, for the marriage with Bothwell, the nobility solicited and advised it, and subscribed thereto, especially some of the adversaries, as by a writing under their hands would be testified.* At the same time, Mary reminded Elizabeth that she had promised her that she "would have her queen still,"—that she would never permit her own (the Scottish) subjects to sit in judgment upon their queen, and that she would bide all extremities rather than look back from the hope that was given her. "And," writes Knollys privately to Elizabeth, "unless your majesty will proceed against her, and *forcibly* maintain my Lord of Murray's government, you shall never bring her to a yielding; for she hath courage enough to hold out as long as any foot of hope may be left unto her."

During the Christmas holidays the commission reposed from its labours; but three or four separate parties prosecuted a variety of intrigues. After the holidays the Bishop of Ross, who had received fresh instructions from his mistress, waited upon Elizabeth, to demand copies of the documents that Mary might answer them, and prove her accusers to be liars as well as traitors. Elizabeth coolly replied, that she must take time to deliberate on

* Burghley State Papers.

such demand; but she now gave as her own opinion, what she had before ordered Knollys to suggest to Mary as his own friendly advice,—that it would be best for her to resign her crown, and lead a peaceful life in England. The bishop assured her that his mistress had authorised him to declare that she was resolved rather to die than do any such thing,—that her last word in this life should be that of a queen of Scotland.* The bishop was brought up before the full council, but he gave the same bold answer; and on the 11th of January, 1569, Elizabeth put a strange end to the conference, which of late had been carried on at Hampton Court. She told the regent Murray, before her court and ministers—in private her conversation was different—that nothing had been proved against the honour and loyalty of him and his adherents, but that they, on the other hand, had shown no sufficient cause why she should conceive any evil opinion against the queen her good sister. This was admitting Mary's innocence of the crimes for which alone it had been pretended she was detained a prisoner; but, as we have said before, the question of Mary's guilt or innocence had little to do with any of these measures. Elizabeth, who had tried to get possession of the Scottish queen by various means, was fully resolved to keep her now that she had got her. She turned to Murray, and assured him that he might safely go back to Scotland, and rely upon her good will. The Bishop of Ross then told her, that if his mistress's accusers were permitted to return to Scotland, it would be most unfair to detain her a prisoner in England; and he and his colleagues solemnly protested, in Mary's name, against any act which should be performed whilst she remained in captivity. The regent locked up the originals, and took them with him; Elizabeth kept copies of the love-letters and sonnets. Nor was this all: Murray wanted money, and she gave him 5000*l.*; he wanted a proclamation to satisfy certain national jealousies in Scotland, and he got it; he wanted an unusual

* Goodall.

past for the Lords Wardens of the English Marches, and letters of favour to the English nobility near the Borders, and he got them also.

If we are to believe some extraordinary statements which were afterwards made upon the Duke of Norfolk's trial, Murray did not depend wholly upon the assistance of Elizabeth,* but procured from his sister Mary letters to her friends in the north, both English and Scotch, to give up their design of setting upon him, and to permit his peaceful return to Edinburgh; Murray having, according to this showing, entered fully into the Duke of Norfolk's project for marrying Mary. But we think one part of the story disproved by an intercepted letter written by the captive queen to her subjects in Scotland, and calling upon them to assemble and resist the regent to the best of their might, and to do all the evil they could to the said rebels, and to stop their returning home if it were possible.† Escorted by an English guard, the earl reached the city of Edinburgh on the 2nd of February, 1569, after an absence of nearly five months. But before he got there—before he began his journey from London—Elizabeth sent down strict orders to her unhappy vice-chamberlain Knollys, and to Lord Scrope, to move the Queen of Scots with all haste to Tutbury, as a place farther in the realm and more secure. Mary had protested that she would not move farther from the Border except by force; and many unnecessary pains were taken to make it be believed that no force was used.

On the 26th of January, in inclement weather, without money, or the proper means of transport, the Queen of Scots and her attendants, male and female, were obliged

* The enemies of Murray were not confined to the Borders. At this very moment Lord Hunsdon, who was at Berwick, wrote to Cecil that there was great stir in all parts of Scotland,—that Scotland was all in arms,—that the Hepburns and Hamiltons were besieging towns,—that the Earl of Huntley had gathered seven or eight thousand men for Queen Mary, and meant to call a new parliament at Glasgow.

† This intercepted letter was sent to Murray just as he was on the point of leaving the English court.

to mount some sorry steeds, which had been lent to Knollys by the Bishop of Durham. Mary's friend, Lady Livingstone, was taken ill on the road, and left behind at Rotherham. At Chesterfield the queen herself complained of the violent pain of her side to which she had been subject ever since the Rizzio murder, and also of headache, so that the cavalcade was obliged to remain at a gentleman's house near Chesterfield, where they had good accommodations, which seem to have been wanting in all other parts of the journey. It was not until the 3rd of February that the captive queen reached Tutbury Castle, a strong place upon the river Dove, in Staffordshire, the property of the Earl of Shrewsbury, under whose charge she was now placed; but the poor vice-chamberlain Knollys, whose wife had died at court without his being allowed to make a journey to see her, was not relieved from his charge, being joined in commission under the earl.

Elizabeth was soon made to feel that, in resolving to keep Mary in captivity in the heart of England, she had done that which cast a threatening cloud over her own liberty and greatness, and deprived her of her peace of mind: in fact, for many years she was incessantly haunted with the fears of plots, escapes, and bloody retaliation; no castle seemed strong enough, no keepers sure enough, for her hated rival, who, in many respects, had become more dangerous to her than ever. From time to time these jealousies and apprehensions were stirred up by zealous Protestants and the friends of Cecil.

Meanwhile some of Elizabeth's noblest subjects were secretly devising how they might liberate the prisoner—*perhaps* how they might revolutionise the whole country, and place Mary upon the throne of England; and foreign princes were openly complaining of the English queen's cruel and unseemly treatment of a crowned head—of one who was as much an independent princess as herself. But no foreign power was at the time either in a condition or in a disposition to hazard a war with the powerful Queen of England for the weak and ruined queen of a weak, poor, and anarchic country. To their remon-

strances Elizabeth replied, that they were all labouring under a great mistake—that she was the dear sister of Mary, the best friend she ever had—that she had given her an asylum, when her subjects drove her from her kingdom and sought her life—that she had been delicately watchful of her reputation, and had suppressed, and was still suppressing, documents which would render her infamous to her contemporaries and to all future ages.

Leaving Mary in her prison at Tutbury Castle, we must now take up several important events which occurred previous to her committal there. The burning heat of two hostile fanaticisms (for the Huguenots were scarcely less fanatic than the Catholics) added to the heat of ambition (for the princes and great men on both sides were, for the most part, indifferent to the question of religion) kept France in a blaze. In 1564 Elizabeth's friend, the Prince of Condé, was disgusted by being refused the post of lieutenant-general of the realm, left vacant by the death of the King of Navarre; and as the Protestants saw that the treaty of peace made in the preceding year in order to expel the English from Havre, was not kept, and that the court was revoking the liberty of conscience, it was easy for the prince to assemble once more a formidable army. But for some time the Huguenots were kept in awe in the north of France by a large force, which the court had collected to guard the frontier from any violation that might arise out of the disturbed state of the Netherlands. The discontent in the Netherlands, which became in the end another war of religion, was at first common to both Protestants and Catholics. The industrious and commercial citizens, who had grown enormously wealthy under the rule of the dukes of Burgundy, saw their prosperity dwindle and waste away as soon as the government of their country was transferred by marriage to the monarchic and despotic Spaniards. Charles V., a native of the country, had some sympathy with the people, and was too wise to force them at all points; but when his dominion fell to his bigoted son Philip II., no moderation was preserved. The nobility were insulted, the merchants were robbed by illegal imposts, the privi-

leges of the free cities were violated, and every constitutional right was declared to be of no weight against the will of the monarch—the anointed of the Lord, the chosen of heaven. And while few or no Dutchmen and Belgians could find provision or promotion in Spain, Spaniards were thrust into almost every office in the Netherlands. The rich abbeys, which had hitherto been possessed by natives, were dissolved to found bishoprics, and these new sees were all given to foreigners. Under these circumstances it is not strange that even the Catholic clergy of the Netherlands should become disaffected; but, to their honour be it said, this portion of the Roman Church, orthodox as it was, abhorred the Inquisition, which Philip very soon resolved to establish in the country as a completion of his benefits to it; and some of them who regretted the spread of protestantism, asked whether it were not better to employ milder remedies than fire and sword. But Philip had no taste for mild remedies, and he told one of his ministers who had ventured to reason with him, that he would rather lose all his kingdoms than possess them with heresy.* A detestable tribunal, after the model of that of Spain, was therefore established. The powerful Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmont and Horn placed themselves at the head of their countrymen, and a confederacy, in which the Catholics acted with the Protestants, was formed in the spring of 1566, with the avowed object of putting down this institution, and with the more secret design of recovering the constitutional rights of the country. The Duchess of Parma, who governed the provinces in the name of Philip, yielded to the storm, and declared that the Inquisition should be abolished. At this point the Catholics and Protestants separated: the latter required not only an exemption from the secret tribunal, but liberty to profess and teach their own doctrines; the Catholics were quite satisfied with what had been done, and were not at all disposed to do more for the rights of conscience, nor indeed to tolerate any open profession of the reformed

* Bentivoglio, Guerra Di Fiandra.

faith. The Protestants therefore met in their places of worship with arms in their hands. The preacher preached with his sword naked before him, the congregation, men, women, and children, carried arms or bludgeons. In Antwerp and other great trading cities, which were crowded with English and German Protestants, the people set the regent at defiance. At the same time the country people who were out of the reach of the Spanish garrisons, not only gave an asylum to the persecuted preachers, but began to declare that it was time to root papistry out of the land: and they soon proceeded to knock down the churches, to break the images, to destroy the pictures, and to do all that had been done in other reforming countries. Presently Antwerp became in Catholic eyes a horrible scene of impiety and sacrilege. Only the Walloon provinces refused the signal and remained devout and tranquil.* For a short time the reformers had the field to themselves, but then the Duchess of Parma fell upon them with a mixed host of Spaniards, French, and Walloons. A battle was fought near Antwerp; but the burghers and peasants were as yet unequal to a contest with regular troops: some were burnt alive in a house to which they had fled for refuge, some cut to pieces, and some drowned in the Scheldt as they were flying from their pursuers. Then, partly by force and partly by stratagem, the regent introduced a strong garrison into Antwerp. Her severity, it is said, was tempered by clemency, but her master Philip had determined that no clemency should be shown to men who were doubly damned as heretics and rebels. He recalled the Duchess of Parma, and despatched the famous Duke of Alva, who was as admirable as a military commander as he was detestable as a bigot, or as a passive instrument to despotism, with an army still more formidable from its discipline than from its numbers, to restore obedience and a uniformity of belief in the Low Countries. At the approach of Alva, the Prince of Orange retreated to his principality of Nassau; Egmont and Horn, who stayed

* Bentivoglio.

in the hope of justifying their conduct, were cast into prison; the rest of the leaders fled to England and France. The success of Alva alarmed the Protestants everywhere; in England and in Scotland it cast a cloud, which was never to be removed, over the fortunes of Mary, but it was in France that it excited the wildest panic. The Huguenots, who were always a minority, saw that they must be crushed, and maintained that Alva was specially appointed to carry into effect the seceret treaty of Bayonne, for the forcible restoring of all Protestants to the obedience of the church. With this conviction the Huguenots resolved to anticipate their enemies. The Prince of Condé renewed an old correspondence with the Prince of Orange, with the English court, and with others interested in opposing the Bayonne treaty; and he, with Coligni and other chiefs of the party, laid a plot for surprising the king—the contemptible and wretched Charles IX.—and all his court at Monceaux.

King Charles was saved from the hands of his Protestant subjects by the fidelity and bravery of his Swiss mercenaries. Elizabeth had sent Condé money and advice; and it has been asserted that she was privy to this plot, and that her ambassador, Sir Henry Norris, was deeply implicated in its arrangement. What is more certain is, that when the conspiracy failed and the Huguenots were driven into an open and desperate war, Cecil instructed Norris to comfort them and exhort them to persevere. Charles soon found himself shut up in his capital; but he was liberated, or freed from a siege, by the battle of St. Denis, in which the Huguenots were defeated. The Constable Montmorency, however, was slain, and the king found himself obliged to conclude another hollow pacification. In the following spring (1568) 3000 French Protestants crossed the northern frontier, to join the Prince of Orange, who had taken the field against the Spaniards. In the month of June the Prince of Orange was obliged to retreat before the Duke of Alva; but in August he re-appeared with 20,000 men. Alva skilfully avoided a battle with this superior force, and manœuvred in such a manner as to exhaust the strength,

spirits, and resources of the Protestants. At the end of the campaign, the Prince of Orange was obliged to re-cross the Rhine, and disband what remained of his army. These Protestant troops had been in a good measure raised by English money, secretly supplied by Elizabeth, who at the same time was at peace with Philip, and in public took care to proclaim her respect for the Spanish monarch, and her dislike of all rebellions; nor did she relax her efforts, or despair of success to the insurgents, either in the Netherlands or in France. The government of the latter country had given, in the preceding year, what might have been considered a provocation to war, but she and Cecil were determined to have no *open* war. When, at the expiration of the term fixed by the treaty of Château Cambresis, Sir Henry Norris demanded the restitution of Calais, the French chancellor quoted an article of the treaty, by which Elizabeth was to forfeit all claim to that town if she committed hostilities upon France; and further told Norris that, as she had taken possession of Havre, she had brought herself within the scope of that clause.

In 1567 Elizabeth had entered anew into matrimonial negotiations. Herold suitor, the Archduke Charles, wrote her a very flattering letter, and, though she had not the most distant intention of marrying him, she despatched the Earl of Sussex on a solemn embassy to Vienna. There were two particular obstacles to be overcome:—the queen would marry none without sight of his person beforehand, and without his agreeing to adopt her own religion.* Sussex, who was anxious for the match, attempted to obviate both these difficulties.†

The matrimonial negotiator, who had been deceived by his mistress and by his own eagerness for the marriage, assured the archduke that Elizabeth did not now mean a

* There are several letters of Cecil to this effect in the Hardwicke and Burghley Papers, the Collection of Ellis, &c.

† More than a year before Cecil informed his friend Sir Thomas Smith, that "the whole nobility of England favoured this match very much;" and that "my Lord of Leicester hath behaved himself very wisely to allow of it."—Ellis.

lingering entertaining of the matter, but a direct proceeding to bring it to a good end, with a determination to consummate the marriage if conveniently she might. The archduke said, that he had heard so much of Elizabeth's not meaning to marry as might give him cause to suspect the worst; but he was, or pretended to be, satisfied with Sussex's assurance, and, putting off his cap, he said he would honour, love, and serve her majesty all the days of his life, provided only she would bear with him for his conscience; but when Sussex hinted that he (the archduke) was only temporising in matters of religion, and might be expected to change his faith, "in order to settle in this marriage," the Austrian prince honourably and frankly informed him that he was mistaken—that his ancestors had always held the religion which he held—that he knew nothing of any other religion, and therefore could have no mind to change. And then he asked, how the queen could like him in any other thing, if he should be so light in changing of his conscience.* The archduke afterwards wrote letters to Elizabeth herself, to stipulate for the liberty of hearing mass in England, in a private room of the palace, at which none but himself and his servants should attend—consenting to accompany the queen to the Protestant church regularly, and even to intermit for a time the exercise of his own religion, if any serious disputes should arise thereupon. But Elizabeth now fell back upon the fears and the strong religious feelings of her Protestant subjects, protesting to the Austrian that they would never tolerate a Catholic prince, and pointing out to them how difficult it was for her to find a suitable husband; and there is little doubt that the majority of the people were more content to see her remain single than to see her marry a Catholic. The treaty was carried on for years; but in the end the archduke found a less difficult bride in the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

The queen ought certainly to have kept a matrimonial

* Lodge.—All this matter, with more particulars, is contained in letters written by the ambassador Sussex to Elizabeth herself.

secretary, for all these interminable negotiations, added to the weight of his other business, nearly proved too much for Secretary Cecil, who was constantly praying to the Lord to deliver him from them.

But intrigues for an obnoxious marriage—that of the Duke of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots—were now in full activity. In that dishonourable age it was a common practice (as it has been in some later times) for people to enter into plots for the sole purpose of betraying them to the government, and reaping a suitable reward. There were too many engaged in the present scheme to allow of any hope of secrecy. Even before Murray had returned to Scotland, or Queen Mary had been removed to Tutbury Castle, Elizabeth had alternately reproached and tempted the Duke of Norfolk, who assured her that if there had been a talk of his marrying the Scottish queen the project had not originated with him, and had never met his wishes—"and if her majesty would move him thereto, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he meant never to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow."* The allusion to the fate of Darnley gratified the queen, and she accepted Norfolk's excuses. But it is said that only a day or two after his making this protestation, the duke conferred in secret, in the park at Hampton Court, with the Earl of Murray, and then with the Bishop of Ross and Maitland of Lethington, when he agreed that if Mary could be restored to her liberty and her throne he would marry her; they, on the other hand, assuring him, that such a nobleman as himself, courteous, wealthy, and a *Protestant*, could not fail of restoring tranquillity to Scotland, and maintaining peace and a perfect understanding between the two countries. It should appear, however, that Norfolk did not commit himself very seriously until he was propelled by the insidious favourite Leicester, by the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the experienced diplomatist and plotter, who had suddenly coalesced with Leicester, in the hope

* Burghley Papers.

of throwing Cecil into the Tower, and changing that minister's system for one that would more promote his own interests. Throgmorton and Leicester were, in effect, the most active in pressing the match: but Norfolk turned round suddenly, being probably startled at the danger, and recommended Leicester himself, who had formerly been proposed to Mary by Elizabeth, to marry the captive queen. Leicester adroitly declined the honour. Norfolk then put forward his own brother, the Lord Henry Howard, but he also was afraid.

At last the duke agreed to be the husband, and then a letter, subscribed by the Earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, and the Lord Lumley, was privately addressed to Mary in her prison, urging her to consent to the marriage, but requiring her at the same time "to relinquish all such claims as had been made by her to the prejudice of the queen's majesty; and that religion might be stablished both in Scotland and England; and that the league of France might be dissolved, and a league made betwixt England and Scotland; and that the government of Scotland might be to the contentation of the Queen of England."* And the Duke of Norfolk is said to have assured as well the Scottish queen as the lords who subscribed this letter, that unless these articles were agreed to, he would have nothing to do with the matter. Leicester and the others assured him that if Mary would agree to the articles, then *they* would "be means to the queen's majesty to like of the marriage."† Norfolk and his friends said afterwards, that they had assured themselves, from the letter being *written by the Earl of Leicester*, there would be nothing in it "but for the queen's majesty's security."‡

Mary was ready to do a great deal in order to open her prison gates, but she demurred at this proposal, stating that the previous consent of Elizabeth was necessary, and that *all her calamities had, in effect, arisen out of her sister's wrath at her marriage with Darnley.* The lords, however, naturally thought that it would not be

* Burghley Papers. † Id. ‡ Id.

difficult to overcome her objections; and Norfolk, in his own name, wrote letters to the fair captive as a lover and liberator. These letters were conveyed to the queen by the Bishop of Ross. *He* was true to his trust, but Norfolk had admitted into the secret Wood, the agent of the regent Murray, and this Wood soon put himself in direct communication either with Elizabeth or Cecil, or probably with both. The consent of the French and Spanish courts to the match was asked through their ambassadors: everything seemed to favour the project and flatter the ambition of Norfolk. Many of the principal nobility of England encouraged him, and none remonstrated, save the Earl of Sussex, who saw clearly the real nature of the plot, and the ruin it would bring upon his friend the duke. Sussex wrote to Cecil, regretting the great coldness which he had observed between him and the Duke of Norfolk; a feeling which, he says, must have had its origin in misrepresentations and the ill offices of their enemies—of men who were eager to profit by their dissensions and ruin them both.* Norfolk, on the faith of promises pledged, was fool enough to expect that the Earl of Murray would now approve the articles of marriage, and charge Maitland to open the subject to her Majesty of England.

The regent pretended to recommend his sister's liberation to a Scottish parliament which he had assembled; but, at the same time, he was taking all the measures in his power to keep her a closer prisoner in England than ever. Here Maitland and he quarreled; for the astute secretary, dissatisfied with Murray's government, and full of his grand state intrigue, which embraced England as well as Scotland, was now more anxious for the restoration of Mary than he had been two years before for her deprivation. But Maitland, for the moment, was overmatched, and, fearing for his life, and cursing what he called the double dealing and perfidy of Murray, he fled from Edinburgh to seek an asylum in the mountains of

* Lodge's Illustrations.

the north. In the month of August, Elizabeth and her court being at Farnham, and the Duke of Norfolk being in attendance on her, there suddenly arose a whispering among the ladies of the court, "who," as Camden saith, "have much sagacity in smelling out amatory matters," that the Queen of Scots and the duke were privately contracted to each other. Elizabeth took the imprudent Duke of Norfolk to dine with her: she was courteous as usual; but, when she rose from table—still, however, "without any show of displeasure"—she bade him "be very careful on what pillow he rested his head."* The court then proceeded to Titchfield, where the Earl of Leicester found it convenient to fall very sick—sick, it was said, unto death! Alarmed—and, as is generally represented, still amorous—Elizabeth flew to the bedside of her unworthy favourite, who, with many sighs and tears, began to disclose every particular of the plot into which he had inveigled Norfolk. Leicester received a fond pardon, Norfolk a severe reprimand. The duke protested that he had never meant ill to her majesty, and readily promised to let the project drop. But Elizabeth could not conceal her anger against him, and Leicester, who was soon up and well, began to treat him rudely. The duke, upon this, left the queen, promising to return within a week; but, after paying a short visit to London, he went into Norfolk, and fixed himself at his great house of Kenninghall. At the same time, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who had signed the letter which Leicester had written to Mary, withdrew from court. Upon this the queen became greatly alarmed. The Earl of Huntingdon and the Viscount Hereford were joined in commission with the Earl of Shrewsbury, "to prevent the departure and escape out of the realm" of Queen Mary, which, it was said, "could not be but both perilous and very dishonourable to us and our realm."† Urgent requisitions were sent to Kenninghall for the immediate appearance of the duke at court; and it should

* Camden.—Burghley Papers. † Burghley Papers.

appear that the government suspected that he was arming his friends and retainers.*

While the matrimonial intrigue had been in progress, one Paris, a Frenchman, commonly called French Paris, was apprehended in Scotland on a charge of being actively concerned in the Darnley murder. Here seemed to be an opportunity of fixing the guilt on Mary more directly and convincingly than the letters of the silver box had done; and Elizabeth sent down to Murray to request, or command, that the prisoner should be delivered up to her. But Murray replied that French Paris was already executed. This horrid execution has been justly assumed as a circumstance casting much doubt on the nature of the Frenchman's confessions. If Paris had been really disposed to make such important revelations, his life ought to have been preserved, in order that he might deliver his evidence, if not before Queen Elizabeth, at least before a Scottish parliament or court of law; and Mary the accused, or her advocates, ought to have had the opportunity of cross-examining the prisoner. There was no urgent motive of fear of a rescue, or of any other kind to prevent his lying for a while in prison. Paris was only a page or footman; he was well ironed (he had been *tormented* before); and his life was at all times in their hands. In short, to use the words of a writer who was instantly struck with the parallel case furnished by Shakspere, "The fact of having put Paris instantly to death, with every other person connected with the murder, resembles the act of the usurper in the play, who stabs the warders of Duncan lest a public examination should produce other sentiments in the minds of the judges than those which he who really committed the crime desired should be inferred." † Instead of

* Norfolk told Cecil, by letter, that he was ill of a fever and ague; but the hot and cold was of a moral kind. He was told to come, his "ague notwithstanding." But only a week before he came Elizabeth wrote to her "right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor," that his fears were without cause.—Burghley Papers.

† Walter Scott, History of Scotland.

French Paris, the regent sent the English queen two depositions which the prisoner *was said* to have made before his trial. We need not stop to inquire whether they were made *before* torture. In those days *ironing and tormenting* were coupled together,—that is, in all such cases the prisoner was put to the rack as soon as he was caught. This practice was of itself enough to cast a doubt on all confessions when they were unsupported by other evidence. But these very depositions differed. In the first, Maitland of Lethington was charged as the original contriver of the plot for murdering Darnley; the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, with Balfour, were set down as accomplices in the murder; and the Earls of Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay as the abettors and supporters of Bothwell. Here there was no mention of the queen; but in the second deposition it was inserted that Mary had been privy and assenting. Maitland, it will be remembered, was at this moment a fugitive from the wrath of the regent, who had resolved to destroy him, well knowing that nothing but death could prevent the Machiavelli of Scotland from intriguing and manœuvring. The most cunning men have momentary fits of credulity. Maitland was made to believe that the regent was desirous of a reconciliation with him: he went to Stirling, where Murray welcomed him by putting him under arrest, and naming a day for his trial. Then, counting upon the prisoner's fears, he urged him to become the open accuser of the Duke of Norfolk, and of others, their common friends, in England. But this, Maitland, who seems to have been in no fear at all, flatly refused; and on the day appointed for his trial the secretary's friends assembled in such numbers that Murray was fain to put off the process for an indeterminate period.* But the work must be done; and now Murray himself undertook the odious office of informer, and forwarded all the Duke of Norfolk's letters to the English queen, humbly protesting that he had not devised the project, and that he would never have given his feigned assent to it had it

* Laing.—Chalmers.

not been to preserve his own life. When this evidence was in Elizabeth's hands, or when it was promised her, she again invited the Duke of Norfolk to court; and this nobleman, trusting that her anger had cooled, at last obeyed the summons, and set out from Kenninghall. At St. Alban's, on the 2nd of October, he was met by Edward Fitzgarrett, a gentleman of the court, who attached him, and conveyed him to the house of Mr. Wentworth, near Windsor.* On the 9th of October the duke was brought up to London and committed to the Tower. On the 11th of the same month the Bishop of Ross, who in vain pleaded his privilege as the agent and ambassador of a crowned head,—the helpless prisoner Mary,—was sharply examined at Windsor, and then committed to prison. At the same time the Lord Lumley and some others of less note were placed under arrest; "and the queen's majesty willed the Earl of Arundel and my Lord of Pembroke to keep their lodgings, for that they were privy of this marriage intended, and did not reveal it to her majesty."†

The alarm of the English Protestant court was the greater on account of the successes which had recently attended the Catholic arms on the continent, notwithstanding the encouragement and assistance sent to the French Huguenots by Elizabeth, who, of late, had permitted many of her subjects—some zealous for religion, some anxious to learn the art of war on tented fields—to pass over to France, where they fought along with Condé and Coligni, but of course not under English colours. Among these volunteers was a youth who afterwards rose to fame. "They were all," says De Thou, "a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred; but the most noted of them all was WALTER RALEIGH." This gallant band, however, was far too weak to turn the tide of fortune. At the battle of Jarnac the Huguenots were de-

* Cecil's Diary.

† Letter from Cecil to Sir Henry Norris. The minister says that he thinks none of them had any evil meaning, and bears witness that my Lord of Pembroke meant nothing but well to the queen's majesty, but he does not name Norfolk.

feated, and their leader, the Prince of Condé, being taken prisoner, was shot in cold blood after the battle by Montesquiou, captain of the guards to the king's brother, the Duke of Anjou, one of Elizabeth's suitors. Being reinforced by some Protestant troops from Germany, the Huguenots gained a victory at La Roche Abeille; but, in the beginning of October, a few days before Norfolk's committal to the Tower, they were again defeated, and with tremendous slaughter, at Moncontour.

At the same time Elizabeth, by a measure of very questionable morality, had given a deadly provocation to the powerful Philip. She had sent over money and men to the Prince of Orange, but, as this was done secretly, she could deny that it had been done by her authority. But in the course of the preceding autumn (1568) a Spanish squadron of five sail, carrying stores and money for the payment of Philip's army in the Low Countries, took refuge on the English coast to escape a Protestant fleet which had been fitted out by the Prince of Condé. For a while the queen hesitated: she was at peace with Spain—a Spanish ambassador was at her court, and her own ambassador, Mr. Mann, was at Madrid: but the temptation was very strong,—the money was destined for the support of those who were mercilessly bent on destroying a people who professed the same religion as her own subjects; and, besides, Elizabeth much wanted money, for she had spent, and was then spending, a great deal to support the Protestant religion abroad. In the end it was resolved to seize the specie, upon pretence that it, in truth, belonged, not to the King of Spain, but to certain Italian bankers and money-lenders, who had exported it upon speculation. The Duke of Alva presently retaliated by seizing the goods and imprisoning the persons of all the English merchants he could find in Flanders. On the 8th of January Elizabeth resolved in council that the Spanish ambassador should be admonished of the strange proceedings of the Duke of Alva, and asked whether he took this act to be done by the King of Spain or not; that he, the ambassador, should be let to understand that her majesty can do no other for her

honour and for satisfaction of her subjects than arrest all the subjects of the king his master, and likewise appoint some gentlemen to keep guard over him, the ambassador, in his house, until she may hear what shall become of her subjects; and that some vessels should be sent to the seas to stop all vessels passing for Spain or for the Low Countries.* But according to La Mothe Fénélon the narrow seas were already swarming with English privateers,—the Frenchman calls them pirates,—and with armed vessels manned by French and Flemish Protestants; and he mentions that Elizabeth had had a long conversation with the principal commander of the sea-rovers. The English cruisers of course offered no molestation to the Protestant privateers of the Low Countries, but assisted them in landing troops on the French coast for the service of the Huguenots.† The French court and the court of Spain were almost equally incensed; but they had both so many troubles on their hands that they resolved to avoid for the present a declaration of war. Privateering flourished and trade decayed, but the English ships had not the whole harvest to themselves: corsairs under the Spanish flag, or under no flag at all, pillaged peaceful and honest merchantmen, and occasionally committed depredations on the English coast. At the end of January, however, the French government, after remonstrating against the supplies sent in English ships to the Huguenots, seized all the English merchandise in Rouen. There was a loud outcry in England at this seizure, and some of the lords of the council advised an immediate declaration of war against France. Elizabeth made great preparations as if for immediate

* According to the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénélon, the money seized amounted to 450,000 ducats, and the five ships were Biscayans.—Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon. Publiée pour la premiere fois sous la direction de Monsieur Charles Purton Cooper.

† A great quantity of arms and ammunition had recently been landed at La Rochelle for the French insurgents from four English men-of-war!

hostilities, taking care that the foreign ambassadors should be made to see the formidable state of her arsenals and the warlike spirit of her subjects.* At the same moment plots against the French government were discovered in Brittany, in Normandy, and in the neighbourhood of Calais. It was suspected that the English court was no stranger to these conspiracies, and for many months great apprehensions were entertained lest the town of Calais should be put into the hands of Elizabeth as the price of greater services to the conspirators. Meanwhile the privateers were reinforced, and they now received permission to take and plunder the ships of France as well as those of Spain. At last, in the month of March, the French court demanded from Elizabeth a formal declaration as to whether she wished for peace or for war, and they only allowed her fifteen days to make up her mind. When La Mothe Fénélon delivered his message, Elizabeth again assured him that she was most desirous of maintaining peace,—that if the King of France would liberate the English property at Rouen she would deliver all the French property which had been taken by her privateers, a class of men whose exploits, she said, she had always much detested, having frequently given orders to have them punished.† She denied that she had ever maintained any intelligence with French subjects; but, in the end, she told the ambassador that the affair was of such weight she must refer it to her whole council. Again the more ardent of the Protestant lords would have recommended an open drawing of the sword; but a double war with France and Spain was unpromising,

* The Duke of Alva sent over the Sieur d'Assoleville to treat about the money. The queen sent orders to arrest him at Rochester, and to detain him there two days, in order that he might see and hear in that principal arsenal what a vast number of workmen she had employed on her great ships of war!—'Correspondance Diplomatique de la Mothe Fénélon.'—This old diplomatist might well complain—as he frequently does—of the little respect shown by Elizabeth to the character of ambassadors.

† De la Mothe Fénélon.

and, at the end of seven days, the queen declared that it was her full intention to be at peace with France. This declaration was taken for what it was worth; and while the French negotiator echoed promises of good-will, he saw with delight that troubles were breaking out in Ireland, and dissensions in the English cabinet connected with Leicester's project for overthrowing Cecil, and with Norfolk's scheme for marrying the Scottish queen.* In a very few days after Elizabeth's pacific declarations, it was found that her ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Norris, was again intriguing with the Huguenots and promising them assistance. Upon this the French government made a fresh seizure of English merchandise at Rouen, Calais, and Dieppe. Elizabeth's privateers retaliated on the French coasts; but she again negotiated and promised to put an end to that kind of warfare upon condition that the French should recall their commissions, for they also had begun to fit out swarms of privateers. But again, within a few weeks, Elizabeth gave audience to envoys from the Huguenots and to envoys from the Prince of Orange, and the other leaders of the Protestants in the Low Countries, who all wanted from her loans of money, arms, and gunpowder. She held a grand review of her troops, horse and foot; and, inflamed at this aspect of war, many gentlemen bought themselves swords and pikes and went over to join the Huguenots. Elizabeth denied that this last was done by her permission, but presently a fleet of ships, armed for war, and escorted by the largest vessels in the queen's service, set sail for Rochelle, which was, and long continued to be, the principal port and stronghold of the French Protestants. But this fleet was detained by contrary winds; the Huguenots were defeated in the interval, and then Elizabeth made fresh protestations, and issued a proclamation against privateers and all such as made war without her license upon the French king. Her conduct had irritated the French court to the extreme, and as the power of the Protestants in France seemed to be broken, it was

* La Mothe Fénélon.

resolved, by parties as crafty as herself, to give encouragement, if not more, to the Catholics in England, and to excite an interest in all the papistical countries of the continent in favour of the captive Mary. The Duke of Alva entered into this scheme; a Florentine, named Rudolfi, well acquainted with England, acted as agent for the pope; and sanguine hopes were entertained, if not of restoring England to the bosom of the church, of distracting and weakening her by internal dissensions.

The penal statutes against the professors of the old religion had gradually increased in severity, and as the Catholics triumphed on the continent, their religion became more and more an object of suspicion and of persecution in England. Elizabeth cared little for the dogmas of either church. She was altogether free from intolerance as to speculative opinions in religion, unless they went to weaken the royal prerogative. Her intolerance was all of a political kind, and she persecuted, not because men believed in the real presence, but because she believed that no Catholic could possibly be a loyal subject.* In the month of October, immediately after the Duke of Norfolk's arrest, the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland, betrayed symptoms of open insurrection. Doctor Nicholas Morton came from Rome with the title of Apostolical Penitentiary. This emissary was the more effective as he was a man of energy and ability, and connected with some of the best families in the north. At the same time Queen Mary had found means to establish a correspondence with the Catholic Earl of Northumberland, with the Earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the Duke of Norfolk's sister, with Egremont Ratcliff, brother of the Earl of Sussex, Leonard Dacre, the Tempests, the Nortons, and the Marquenfields. Most of these noblemen were ex-

* There were, however, occasional exceptions. Matthew Hammond, *a Unitarian*, was burned alive in the castle ditch of Norwich! But this poor man had also spoken what were called "words of blasphemy against the queen's majesty and others of her council."—Stow.

cited by many motives. Their ostensible leader was the Earl of Northumberland, a very munificent but a very weak lord. He talked imprudently and did nothing; and when at last, in the middle of November, he put himself in motion, it was only because he was frightened out of bed at the dead of night in his house at Topcliffe in Yorkshire, by a panic-fear that a royal force was approaching to seize him. He then rode in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where he found Norfolk's brother-in-law, the Earl of Westmoreland, surrounded with friends and retainers, all ready to take arms for what they considered a holy cause. On the morrow, the 16th of November, they openly raised their banner. If an ingenious stratagem had succeeded, that banner would have floated over the liberated Mary. The Countess of Northumberland had endeavoured to get access to the captive queen, in the disguise of a nurse, in the intention of exchanging clothes with her that she might escape. But as this device had miscarried, the insurgents proposed marching to Tutbury Castle to liberate the queen by force of arms. They issued a proclamation calling upon all good Catholics to join them, and, marching to Durham, they burnt the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and celebrated mass in the cathedral. From Durham they advanced to Clifford Moor, where they held a council of war, finding to their great discomfort that their forces did not increase,—that the people south of them regarded their proceedings with horror,—and that even many Catholic gentlemen, instead of joining them, were repairing to the royal banner, which was moving northwards with the Earl of Sussex. They also learned that Sir George Bowes was assembling an army in their rear. Under these circumstances an advance was deemed too desperate; and, in fact, if they had got to Tutbury they would not have found what they sought, for the Queen of Scots had been removed in great haste to Coventry.* With seven thousand men Northumberland and Westmoreland retreated to Raby Castle. Their

* Cecil's Diary.

retrograde movement forced Sir George Bowes to throw himself and his forces into Barnard Castle. A part of the insurgent army laid siege to this fortress, which surrendered upon terms in a few days, while the rest besieged and took the seaport town of Hartlepool, where they established themselves, in the confident hope of receiving succour from the Spaniards in the Low Countries, and, if they had not before, they now certainly despatched agents to treat with that great champion of Catholicism. Meanwhile the royal army lay inactive at York, a circumstance which made Elizabeth suspect the loyalty of the Earl of Sussex, who had been in former times a close friend to the Duke of Norfolk, and whose own brother, Egremont Ratcliff, was now out with the insurgents. Sir Ralph Sadler was hurried down to York, to exercise his sharp eye and detect what were the real feelings of Sussex.

When Sussex had remained nearly a month at York he was joined by the lord-admiral and the Earl of Warwick with twelve thousand men, raised in the south, and of indisputable Protestantism and loyalty. He then marched northward. The Duke of Alva had ventured nothing for the insurgents; they were ill supplied with money and provisions, and they retreated towards the Scottish borders. Their infantry presently disbanded and fled in all directions, but a body of about five hundred horse dashed into Liddesdale, being escorted by three hundred Scottish horse, the partisans of Mary, who had fondly hoped to see them bring their queen with them. Elizabeth instantly demanded that the fugitives should be delivered up; but, notwithstanding all his goodwill to serve her *and himself*, the regent Murray found it impossible to comply with her request. The Earl of Westmoreland, with his enterprising wife, Egremont Ratcliff, Norton, Marquenfield, Tempest, and the rest, had been taken under the protection of the Humes, the Scots, the Kers, and other Border clans, who set the authority of the regent at defiance. Murray, however, bribed Hector Græme, or Graham, of Harlow; and that traitor delivered up the Earl of

Northumberland, for which deed the fierce Borderers wished to have Græme's head, that they might eat it among them for supper.* The unfortunate earl was sent by the regent to the castle of Lochleven, the old prison of Queen Mary. When Elizabeth pressed him to deliver up his captive, that she might do justice on him, Murray affected a delicate concern for his own honour and the honour of his country; but he afterwards offered to exchange Northumberland for Mary.† Thus Northumberland remained in captivity in Lochleven. After a while the Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, Egremont Ratcliff, and the other refugees, were conveyed to the Spanish Netherlands. But the vengeance of the law, unmitigated by any royal mercy, fell upon the retainers and friends of the fugitives. On the 4th and 5th of January threescore and six individuals were executed in Durham alone; and thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed the whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, a district sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth, "and finding many to be fautors in the said rebellion, he did see them executed in every market-town and in every village, as he himself (says Stow) reported unto me." All that country was dotted in every direction with gibbets, Elizabeth imitating pretty closely the conduct of her sanguinary father on the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Among the Catholic gentlemen whose loyalty had been suspected by Sadler, was Leonard Dacre, the representative of the ancient family of the Dacres of Gillsland. This bold man had resolved to risk his life and fortunes in the cause of the captive queen, whom he regarded with a romantic devotion: he raised a gallant troop to join Northumberland and Westmoreland; but when those two weak earls fled so hastily, he endeavoured to make Elizabeth believe that he had taken up arms, not for, but *against* the insurgents. But Elizabeth and her council were seldom overreached or deceived, and an order was sent down to the Earl of

* Sadler. † Sadler.—Anderson.

Sussex to arrest Dacre, cautiously and *secretly*, as a traitor. He fled; but he resolved to try his good sword before he submitted to the hard doom of exile and beggary. Within a month from the flight of Northumberland, Dacre was at the head of three thousand English borderers. But before a body of Scots could join him, he was attacked on the banks of the river Gelt by a far superior force, commanded by Lord Hunsdon. Leonard Dacre, however, was not defeated without a desperate battle. He fled across the Borders, where he was received and honourably entertained by some noble friends of Mary, and he soon after passed over to Flanders.

Before this rising of Leonard Dacre the regent Murray had gone to his account: and it has been reasonably conjectured that the hopes of the English insurgent had been excited by this event in Scotland. On his return from Elizabeth's court, and the mock trial of his sister, Murray had encountered many difficulties; but he had triumphed over them all by means of English money and his own wondrous caution and dexterity. There was one Hamilton, of Bothwell-Haugh, who had been made prisoner fighting for Queen Mary at Langside. With other men in the like situation, he had been condemned to death; but the regent had pardoned him and all the rest with a few exceptions. But life was all that was granted to Bothwell-Haugh. His house, his lands, were declared to be forfeited, and were given by the regent to one of his favourites, who brutally drove out Bothwell-Haugh's wife, half naked, by night, into the fields. The poor woman, who had recently been delivered, became frantic, and in the morning she was found a maniac. Her husband swore that he would make the original author of the horrible injury he had suffered pay for it with his life. He consulted with his clan, with the Hamiltons his kinsmen, with the retainers of the Duke of Chatelherault, and these men applauded his design, and assisted him in carrying it into execution. Bothwell-Haugh engaged an empty house in the principal street of Linlithgow, through which the regent

was accustomed to pass frequently on his way to and from the palace. There he lurked for some time; but at length, on the 22nd of January, 1570, he saw the regent riding up the street accompanied by Sir Henry Gates, and by Drury, the marshal of Berwick, who had been sent by Elizabeth to treat for the giving up of the Earl of Northumberland and others. He levelled his carbine at Murray, shot him through the body, and then, though hotly pursued, escaped into France.* On the very night of the murder, the Scots and the Kers dashed across the English frontiers with unusual fury, and apparently with the purpose of producing a breach between the two nations, or of giving fresh encouragement to the malcontents of Northumberland and Westmoreland.† It is said that, when intelligence of this untimely death of her half-brother was conveyed to the captive queen, she wept bitterly, forgetting, for the moment, all the injuries which he had done her.

On Murray's death, the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley assumed the government as the lieutenants of Queen Mary. Kirkaldy of Grange, who had long regretted the overthrow of the queen, and the part he had had in it, put these noblemen in possession of the capital and of Edinburgh Castle. But the opposite faction, or the *king's* men, as they were called from their pretended adherence to the infant James, under the guidance of the Earl of Morton, flew to arms, denied the authority of Mary, and invited Elizabeth to send a strong English army to their support. This was precisely what Elizabeth intended to do for her own interests. In the month of April, under the pretence of chastising those who had made the raid in her dominions on the night of Murray's murder, she sent two armies into Scotland. The Lord Scrope entered on the west, the Earl of Sussex with Lord Hunsdon on the

* The subsequent history of this Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh is little known, but it appears that, forty-nine years after murdering the regent, he found a quiet grave in the church-yard of a country parish of Ayrshire.

† Walter Scott.

east. According to no less an authority than Secretary Cecil, Sussex and Hudson, entering into Tiviotdale, gave three hundred villages to the flames, and overthrew fifty castles—mostly, no doubt, mere border peels.* Nor was the raid of the Lord Scrope in the west less destructive. After a week's campaign of this sort, the two armies returned out of Scotland, and the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley and the grandfather of the young king, was sent down from England as a proper person to have the rule by Elizabeth, who of late had taken him into favour. But Lennox presently found that he could do nothing without an English army at his back; and on the 26th of April, Sussex and Hunsdon entered Scotland anew, and laid siege to Hume Castle and Falsé Castle, both belonging to the Earl of Hume, who was doubly obnoxious for his friendship to Mary, and for his having given an asylum to Elizabeth's rebels. Both castles were taken, but none of the English refugees of any note were found in them. On the 11th of May, Sir William Drury, the marshal of Berwick, penetrated into Scotland with another force, consisting of twelve hundred foot, and four hundred horse. Having received hostages from the king's men, Drury marched to co-operate with the Earl of Lennox, who was engaged in laying waste the vale of the Clyde and destroying the castles of the Duke of Chatelherault and the houses of all that bore the name of Hamilton. Their vengeance was so terrible, that that great family, with nearly the entire clan, was brought to the verge of ruin. Drury returned to Berwick on the 3rd of June, having done a great deal in the way of destruction in a very short time.†

It was during these flying campaigns in Scotland that the pope, Pius V., found a man bold enough to affix his bull of excommunication to the gates of the Bishop of London's town residence. Elizabeth and her council seem to have been thrown into a wonderful consternation, as if they were not aware that the thunders of

* Diary. † Id.

the Vatican had become an empty noise. The gentlemen of the inns of court were still suspected of being unsound in religion: the first search and inquest seems to have been made among *them*, and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's Inn. The poor student was presently stretched on the rack, and then, to escape torture, he confessed that he had received the paper or parchment from John Felton, a gentleman of property who lived near Southwark. Felton was apprehended and stretched upon the same infernal instrument: he acknowledged, before he was laid upon the rack, that it was, indeed, he who had affixed the bull on the gates, but more than this no torture could force from him. He was kept in the Tower from the 25th of May to the 4th of August, when he was arraigned at Guildhall, and found guilty of high treason.* Felton bore his horrible fate like an enthusiast, elevated by the conviction that he had been doing God service; but, at the same time, to show that he bore the queen personally, no malice, he drew a diamond ring from his finger of the value of 400*l.*, and sent it to her as a present. His wife had been maid of honour to Mary and a friend to Elizabeth. A conspiracy made by certain gentlemen and others in the county of Norfolk was detected a short time after the exhibition of the bull of excommunication; but it appears that there was no connexion between the two things. John Throgmorton of Norwich, Thomas Brook of Rolesby, and George Redman of Cringleford, all people of condition, and devoted friends to the Duke of Norfolk, were arrested, tried, and all three hanged, drawn, and quartered. In the evidence produced against them was a proclamation of their composition, in which they denounced the immorality and wantonness of the court.†

A.D. 1571.—On the 2nd of April a parliament met at Westminster, wherein was granted a subsidy of 5*s.* in the pound by the clergy, besides two-fifteenths and a subsidy of 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound on the laity, "towards

* Stow. † Stow.—Holinshed.—Burghley Papers.

reimbursing her majesty for her great charges, in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the rebels and their faitours into Scotland." But there was other business of a more remarkable nature than this liberal voting of supplies. A bill was brought in with the object of crushing the pretensions and the partisans of the Scottish queen, and isolating the English Catholics more than ever from the pope and their co-religionists on the continent. It was declared to be high treason to claim a right to the succession of the crown, during the queen's life, or to say that the crown belonged to any other person than the queen, or to publish that she was a heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or usurper, or to deny that the descent of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament. It was further enacted, that any person that should, by writing or printing, mention any heir of the queen, except the same were *the natural issue of her body*,* should, for the first offence, suffer a year's imprisonment; and, for the second, incur the penalty of præmunire. Another bill enacted the pains of high treason against all such as should sue for, obtain, or put in use any bull or other instrument from the Bishop of Rome. By another bill, all persons above a certain age were bound, not only to attend the Protestant church regularly, but also to receive

* Camden says that an incredible number of indecent jokes and reports rose out of this clause. Some said that the queen was actually with child, and the report spread the wider soon after when she became liable to swoonings and fainting fits. There is a passage in a letter from the favourite Leicester to Walsingham (then at Paris), written in the month of November of the following year, which, if nothing more, is very oddly expressed. "We have no news here," says Leicester, only her majesty is in good health; and though you may hear of bruits of the contrary, I assure you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her majesty hath been troubled with a spice or show of the mother, but, indeed, not so: the fits that she hath had hath not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this little in her hath bred strange bruits here at home."—*Digges.*

the sacrament in the form by law established. Besides the unfortunate insurgents of the north, many individuals of rank, among whom was Lord Morley, had retired to the continent, in order to avoid persecution, or a compliance with forms of worship which they believed to be erroneous and sinful: another bill was, therefore, brought in, commanding every person who had left, or who might hereafter leave the realm, whether with or without the queen's license, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels and the profits of his lands. By these enactments the Catholics could neither remain at home without offence to their consciences, nor go abroad without sacrificing their fortunes. There was a talk of a remonstrance, but the House of Commons* and the people were most zealously Protestant, and saw no evil in persecution; and the Catholic lords in the Upper House, though forming a considerable party, had not courage to do much. Elizabeth, however, voluntarily gave up her bill for the forced taking of the sacrament—a thing horrible in Catholic eyes.

But it was not every class of Protestants that was to rejoice and be glad. There was one class of them, great, and constantly increasing, dangerous from their enthusiasm, odious from their republican and democratic notions, that were feared equally with the Catholics, and hated much more by the queen. These were the Puritans—men who had imbibed the severe notions of Calvin,—a sect which Elizabeth, however much she hated it herself, had forced upon Queen Mary in Scotland. This sect had always taught that the church of Christ ought to be separate from, and independent of, the state—a doctrine that went to overthrow the queen's supremacy. But there was another heinous offence which Elizabeth could never forgive: they fraternized with the hot Puritans of Scotland; they regarded John Knox as an inspired apostle—Knox, who had written against "the monstrous

* By the statute 5 Eliz. c. 1, § 16, Roman Catholics had been excluded from the House of Commons.

regiment of women." The first striking instance of actual punishment inflicted upon any of them was in June, 1567, when a company of more than a hundred were seized during their religious exercises, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. They behaved with much rudeness and self-sufficiency on their examination; but these defects and a spiritual sourness inherent to the body became of course worse and worse under the goads of persecution. Yet, at this very moment, unknown to Elizabeth, three or four of her bishops were favourable to the non-conforming ministers, in whose scruples touching many ceremonies and practices in the church they partook; and in her very council the Earls of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Warwick, the Lord Keeper Bacon, Walsingham, Sadler, and Knollys, inclined from conviction to the Puritans, while Leicester, who saw that their numbers were rapidly increasing,—that in the great industrious towns, the strength of the people, or *tiers état*, *they* were becoming *strongest*,—intrigued with them underhand, in the view of furthering his own ambitious projects. In the preceding year Thomas Cartwright, the Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a man of virtue, learning, and a ready eloquence, had electrified numerous audiences, by inculcating the unlawfulness of any form of church government except the Presbyterian, which he maintained to have been that instituted by the first apostles; and the same powerful Puritan soon began to make a wider and more lasting impression by his polemical writings.* In the House of Commons, which was so very anti-Catholic, there was a large and powerful section who agreed with

* Cartwright, who soon went to extreme lengths—maintaining even that princes ought "to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church (*meaning his own model, or the Presbyterian Kirk*), yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the chuch,"—was privately encouraged and patronised by the Earl of Leicester. Whenever it suited the favourite to raise an outcry against any marriage of the queen with a Catholic husband, he could inflate all the Puritan lungs in the kingdom.

Cartwright, and who were bold enough to show their discontent at the queen's church. In this present parliament they introduced seven bills for furthering the work of reformation and for extirpating what they considered as crying abuses. Elizabeth was furious; and, in her own way, she commanded Strickland, the mover of the bills, to absent himself from the House, and await the orders of her privy council. But Strickland's friends, who were beginning to feel their strength, moved that he should be called to the bar of the House, and there made to state the reason of his absence. And as this reason was no secret to them, they proceeded to declare that the privileges of parliament had been violated in his person; that, if such a measure was submitted to, it would form a dangerous precedent; that the queen, of herself, could neither make nor break the laws. This House, said they, which has the faculty of determining the right to the crown itself, is certainly competent to treat of religious ceremonies and church discipline. The ministers were astounded, and, after a consultation apart, the Speaker proposed that the debate should be suspended. The House rose, but on the very next morning, Strickland re-appeared in his place, and was received with cheers! Elizabeth's caution had prevailed over her anger; but she felt as if her royal prerogative had been touched, and her antipathy to the Puritan party increased. In a political sense this was a great revival; and the base servility of parliament would hardly have been cured but for the religious enthusiasm. The case of Strickland was the first of many victories obtained over the despotic principle—the first great achievement of a class of men who, in their evil and in their good, worked out the cause of constitutional liberty to a degree which very few of them, even at a later period, foresaw. At the end of the session not all Elizabeth's prudence could restrain her wrath. At her command, the Lord Keeper Bacon informed the Commons that their conduct had been strange, unbecoming, and undutiful; that, as they had forgotten themselves, they should be otherwise remembered; and that the

queen's highness did utterly disallow and condemn their folly, in meddling with things not appertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding. But this only confirmed the Puritans' suspicion that Elizabeth, in conjunction with some of her bishops, really thought of creating herself into a sort of Protestant pope, that was to decide as by a divine inspiration and legation in all matters relating to the next world.

Notwithstanding the omissions made by parliament, the bishops continued to exact a subscription to the whole Thirty-nine Articles, and to deprive such ministers as refused to subscribe them. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, also persevered in his persecutions, which only wanted an occasional burning to render them a tolerable imitation of the doings in the days of Queen Mary. The Puritan ministers were hunted out of their churches and seized in their conventicles; their books were suppressed by that arbitrary will of the queen, which would allow of nothing being published that was offensive to her; they were treated harshly in all civil matters; they were constantly called before the detestable Star Chamber; they were treated with contumely and ridicule, and the members of their congregations were dragged before the High Commission for listening to their sermons and forms of prayer; and whenever any one refused to conform to the doctrines of the establishment, he was committed to prison. There were not wanting instances of persons being condemned to imprisonment for life, and numerous were the cases in which whole families of the industrious classes were reduced to beggary by these persecutions. This court of High Commission has been compared to the Inquisition; and, in fact, there was a great family likeness between them. It consisted of bishops and delegates appointed by the queen, Parker, the primate, being chief commissioner. They were authorised to inquire into all heretical opinions; to enforce attendance in the established church, and to prevent the frequentation of conventicles; to suppress unorthodox and seditious books, together with all libels against the queen and her government; to take cognizance of all adul-

teries, fornications, and other offences liable to the ecclesiastical law, and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, fine, and imprisonment. Parker always maintained that bold measures would terrify the nonconformists into his orthodoxy; "for," said he, in a letter to Cecil, "I know them to be cowards."* He never made a greater mistake! A very slight knowledge of history might have taught him that people excited by religious enthusiasm are always brave. What was to come he might hardly have foreseen, even if he had made a juster estimate of their spirit; for the struggle, now begun, never ceased till the Puritans laid both mitre and crown in the dust at their feet.

A report had got abroad that the Queen of Scots was sought in marriage for the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of the French king, and though Elizabeth held Mary in a close prison, she was alarmed at this news. In order to prevent any such scheme, she entered into negotiations with Charles IX., or rather with his mother Catherine de' Medici, once more pretending to offer herself as a bride. But there were other causes which rendered the friendship of the French court very desirable. The Huguenots seemed crushed and powerless after their defeat at Moncontour; there appeared no hope of their renewing the civil war in the heart of the kingdom; and if France, at peace within herself, should throw her sword on the side of Spain and zealously take up the Catholic cause, the result might be dangerous, particularly at this moment, when there was great discontent in England, and when the Protestants at home seemed almost on the point of drawing the sword against one another. The sagacious Walsingham was sent over as ambassador to France, with such complicated instructions as must have puzzled even him. One of his principal duties was to blacken the character of Mary; another to lengthen out the matrimonial negotiation as much as possible, making sure, in the mean time, not merely of a truce, but of a fixed treaty of peace with France. He

* Strype, Life of Parker.

was also to have some bye dealings with the Huguenots; but he was to be more than ever cautious and secret in that matter, and to profess at court on all occasions that her majesty, his mistress, had a natural aversion to rebellious subject of all kinds. After many months had been consumed, it was said that the Duke of Anjou declined the match because Elizabeth insisted, as a *sine qua non*, that he should change his religion. Then his younger brother, the boy Duke d'Alençon, was spoken of. In the spring of the year 1572, Walsingham was joined by Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent on a special mission, and it was not till then that this new matrimonial business was fairly entered upon. Elizabeth had been vexed and distressed by reports that the Duke of Anjou had declined the match on account of certain rumours, that she had had two children by the Earl of Leicester and an amorous intimacy with Sir Christopher Hatton besides.* Walsingham was instructed to complain of these foul reports; and Catherine de' Medici was fain to protest she had never believed them.

Sir Thomas Smith and Walsingham, between them, had prevented the taking of any serious steps for the release of the captive queen, in which, indeed, the French court had never showed much earnestness.† Though allies in religion, there were many old jealousies between his most Christian and his Catholic majesty: the English envoys revived these feelings, and Mary's correspondence with the Duke of Alva was turned to

* "On le taxa de ce qu'ayant l'entrée, comme il a, dans la chambre de la Reyne lorsqu'elle est au lict, il (Leicester) s'estoit ingéré de luy bailler la chemise au lieu de sa dame d'honneur, et de s'azarder de luymesme de la bayser, sans y estre convyé."—La Mothe Fénélon.—The ambassador says that, at the instigation of the Earl of Arundel and others, the *Duke of Norfolk* had ventured to complain of these familiarities to the queen herself!

† Walsingham was instructed to say that Mary was kindly treated and liberally supplied with everything; but La Mothe Fénélon had informed his court that she was harshly treated, and in want of every comfort.

good account. They told the French king and his mother that there were letters intercepted of the Queen of Scots to the duke, imploring for his assistance, and offering to send her son, Prince James, to be brought up in Spain, and proposing other things which would make a perpetual pique between England and Scotland, France and Spain; and they informed Cecil that King Charles had exclaimed, in acknowledging Mary's imprudence,—"Ah! the poor fool will never cease till she lose her head: in faith they will put her to death; I see it is her own fault and folly,—I see no remedy for it: I meant to help, but if she will not be helped, *Je ne puis mais*, that is, I cannot do withal." Charles had indeed requested that Mary might be sent to live in France; and had said that, by the ties of relationship, he was bound to secure to her a kinder and milder treatment. But the captive's sufferings were forgotten in the bright prospect of seeing one of his brothers married to Elizabeth. He agreed to leave her where she was, and began the arrangement of an alliance offensive and defensive with the English queen's able envoys, altogether disregarding the warning of his own ambassador, who had assured him that Elizabeth would never marry any one.

While these negotiations had been in progress the case of Mary had been still further complicated, and the hatred of Elizabeth increased, and the whole Protestant party in England thrown into agonies of alarm, by revelations of plots and conspiracies. In the month of April one Charles Bailly, a servant of the Queen of Scots, was seized at Dover as he was returning from the Duke of Alva with a packet of letters. The Bishop of Ross ingeniously contrived to exchange these letters for others of an insignificant kind, which were laid before the council; but Elizabeth and her ministers sent Bailly to the Tower and to the rack.* Under torture Bailly confessed that he had received the packet from Rudolfi, formerly an Italian banker in London, and that it contained assurances that the Duke of Alva entered into the captive

* Burghley Papers.

queen's cause, and approved of her plan for a foreign invasion of England,—that, if authorized by the King of Spain, his master, he should be ready to co-operate with 40 and 30. Bailly said he did not know the parties designated by the ciphers 40 and 30, but that there was a letter in the packet for the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to deliver the other letters to the proper parties. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman had lain in the Tower from the 9th of October, 1569, till the 4th of August 1570, (the day on which Felton was arraigned for the affair of the bull of excommunication), when he was removed in custody to one of his own houses, in consequence of the plague having broken out in the Tower. Some time before this delivery he made the most humble submission to the queen, beseeching her most gracious goodness to accept him again into favour to serve her in any manner that it should please her to direct and command. He acknowledged himself in fault for that he did unhappily give ear to certain motions in a cause of marriage to be prosecuted for him with the Queen of Scots; "but surely," he adds, "I never consented thereto into any respect, save upon reasons that were propounded to induce me for your highnesses benefit and surety." He then solemnly binds himself to have nothing more to do with the marriage or with anything that concerns Queen Mary.* Cecil had long since assured the queen that it would be very difficult to make high treason of anything Norfolk had done as yet. Of course the duke, though he had been ten months a prisoner, had never been brought to any trial, but only interrogated and cross-questioned by the lords of the privy council. Nor did he even now obtain much more than a milder sort of imprisonment. He was watched and closely warded in his own house by Sir Henry Neville; he was afterwards removed to the house of another nobleman devoted to the court, and then to another, and another, being everywhere in custody or closely watched. He petitioned the

* Burghley Papers.

queen, Cecil, and others, to be restored to his seat in the council:—this was refused him; and it was a thing which the sovereign, having the free choice of her counsellors, might refuse without the infringement of law or constitutional right. He requested that he might be permitted to attend in his place in parliament; but this also was refused, and illegally, for he had been convicted of no treason, no crime by law. If Norfolk had been ever so well inclined to keep his engagement, this was certainly the way to make him break it in sheer desperation. Upon the arrest of Bailly he was more closely looked to; but some months elapsed before the matter was brought to his own door. At the end of August, 1571, one Brown, of Shrewsbury, carried to the privy council a certain bag full of money, which he said he had received from Hickford, the Duke of Norfolk's secretary, with directions to carry it to Bannister, the duke's steward. The lords opened the bag, and counted the money, which amounted to six hundred pounds. But there was something else in the bag that gave them more trouble, in the shape of two tickets, or notes, written in cypher. As Brown named Hickford, the poor secretary was apprehended, and on the 2nd of September he decyphered the two notes, which, with the money, were destined for Lord Herries in Scotland, who was making fresh exertions there with her party in favour of the captive queen. Sir Ralph Sadler was immediately sent for to guard the Duke of Norfolk, who was then at Howard House, where, on the 5th of September, on a strict examination, he denied all that Hickford had confessed. Two days afterwards he was committed to his old apartment in the Tower.* In the meanwhile Bannister, and Barker, another secretary of the duke's, had been arrested; and as the Bishop of Ross had long been in custody with the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Ely, and others, it was easy to lay hold of him.† Hickford did not stop at be-

*Cecil's Diary.

† It appears that the Scotch bishop was not brought to London till the end of October, when he was removed from

traying the key to the cyphers; he confessed many other things against his master the duke, without much pressing, and voluntarily offered to show some secret places in his house where his master had deposited letters. As the rest of Norfolk's servants were much attached to their master, and would confess nothing till they were tortured, or threatened with torture, it has been supposed by many that this Hickford had been for some time in the pay of the court. Bannister's fortitude and fidelity did not give way till he had suffered torture, but Barker's forsook him when he was shown the horrid rack. On the 20th of September Sir Thomas Smith, the matrimonial diplomatist, wrote to Cecil, now Lord Burghley,* in a pleasant humour. "We have," said he, "good hope, at last, that we may come home: we think surely, that we have done all that at this time may be done. Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme fear of it, we suppose to have gotten all. Bannister, indeed, knoweth little. . . . Barker was common doer in the practice, but rather, it may seem, chosen for zeal than for wit."† He then proceeds to tell the upright Cecil that he and his coadjutors had been putting Barker's confessions into proper order,—that is, they had been tampering with the evidence which they had procured by threatening a weak and silly man with the rack. Barker confessed sundry other things, in a most confused way, which went to prove that Norfolk had never intermitted his correspondence with the Scottish queen, neither during his first confinement in the Tower nor after his release from that prison—that he had corresponded with the friends of Mary in Scotland by means of the Bishop of Ross, and with the Duke of Alva by means of Rudolfi, who had once delivered to him a letter from the pope.

Ely, and that he was not committed to the Tower till the month of November.—Id.

* Cecil was created Baron Burghley in 1571. In 1572 he received the Order of the Garter, and in the same year succeeded the Marquess of Winchester as Lord High Treasurer, which office he held till his death.

† Burghley Papers.

Although Smith had asserted that Bannister knew little, they made his evidence declare a good deal, and so shaped it as to make it agree with that of Barker and Hickford. When it came to the turn of the Bishop of Ross to be questioned, that prelate was found deficient in the nerve and courage which he had recommended to Bailly; but it is much easier to excuse his want of fortitude than the atrocity of his inquisitors. The bishop claimed the privileges of an ambassador, asserting that, even if he had been somewhat implicated, he was not liable to their jurisdiction, being the representative of an independent sovereign; but Lord Burghley cut him short, by saying that he must answer or be put upon the rack.* Then the bishop wavered, but still he did not confess until he was told that his depositions were merely required to satisfy the mind of Queen Elizabeth, and should not be used against the life of any man. The duke had continued to deny everything, as at first, "with such confidence and ostentation," say Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, "that he did astonish us all, and we knew not how we should judge of him." But when the commissioners showed him the confession of Barker and his other servants, the letters of the Queen of Scots, of which they had obtained possession through Hickford and Barker, and the deposition of the Bishop of Ross, he exclaimed that he was betrayed and undone by his confidence in others, and began to confess to sundry minor charges; for he never allowed that he had contemplated treason against his sovereign. Upwards of fifty interrogatories were put to him in one day; but the purport of the disclosures which were then made is unknown, as the examination cannot be found.†

But the rumours which were sent abroad beyond the dungeon-cells and the walls of the Tower, and industriously spread among the people, were of a terrific nature. The Duke of Alva was coming with an army

* Anderson's Collections.

† Jardine, Criminal Trials.—If this examination had made for the prosecution it would probably have been carefully preserved.

of bloody papists to burn down London, and exterminate the queen, the Protestant religion, and all good Protestants; and the pope was to send the treasures of Rome to forward these deeds, and was to bless them when done. Every wind might bring legions of enemies to the British coast; every town in England, every house, might conceal some desperate traitor and cruel papist, bound by secret oaths to join the invaders, and direct their slaughter and their burning; so that none should escape that professed the true religion, and none suffer that bore the marks of the beast of Rome. A wonderful alarm was excited by one Herle, who disclosed what was called a plot for murdering some of her majesty's privy council.* Kenelm Barney and Edmund Mather, men as obscure as himself, were put upon their metal in the Tower, Herle, their former associate, being witness against them. All that could be proved against them was, that they were two contemptible scoundrels (each ready to betray the other), who were discontented with the court and the present government, which gave no promotion except to such "as were perfumed and courtlike,"—meaning such men as Leicester and Hatton; and who had talked in

* The first inkling of this business was given by Herle in a letter to Lord Burghley dated the 4th of January, 1572. "Of late," he says, "I have, upon discontent, entered into conspiracy with some others to slay your lordship; and, the time appointed, a man with a perfect band attended you three several times in your garden, to have slain your lordship. The which not fallen out, and continuing in the former mischief, the height of your study window is taken towards the garden, minding, if they miss these means, to slay you with a shot upon the terrace, or else in coming late from the court, with a pistol." He then says, in a breath, that he had been "touched with remorse of so bloody a deed," and that he hopes he shall receive at his lordship's hands, "at more convenient time, when these storms are past," the reward which he had merited.—*Burghley State Papers.*—Herle, the informer, was afterwards taken into Burleigh's service. There are grounds for suspecting that he had been engaged *before* the plot. Mr. Wright publishes several letters, afterwards addressed by Herle to Burghley, on *secret* state matters.

public-houses and lodging-houses about rescuing the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower and from certain death. Little confidence can be placed in the revelations of such men, whose imaginations were stretched by the rack and the dread of death. But on the trial Mather and Barney were convicted on the strength of their joint confessions, and on the evidence of Herle. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and their hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for treason. Herle received a full pardon.*

Much time had been spent in preparing for the public trial of the Duke of Norfolk; but at length, on the 14th of January, nearly a month before the executions last alluded to, the queen named the Earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of Queen Mary, to be lord high steward; and Shrewsbury summoned twenty-six peers, selected by Elizabeth and her ministers, to attend in Westminster Hall on the 16th day of the same month. Among these were included, with other members of Elizabeth's privy council, Burghley, who had been active in arranging the prosecution, and the Earl of Leicester, who had originally excited Norfolk to attempt a marriage with the Scottish queen, who had signed the letter to Mary, and who was now athirst for the blood of the unfortunate prisoner, his miserable dupe. On the day appointed the peers met in Westminster Hall at an early hour in the morning, and the duke was brought to the bar by the Lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Peter Carew. The lords were assisted by the judges and all the law officers of the crown. About half-past eight the lord high steward stood up at his chair bare-headed, and the gentleman-usher holding the white rod before him, the serjeant-at-arms made proclamation. The duke, with a haughty look, perused the countenances of all the lords, first those on the right hand of the lord high steward and then those on the left. After a fresh proclamation of silence, the clerk of the crown called upon the duke,—"Thomas, duke of Norfolk, late of Kenning Hall, in the county of Norfolk, hold up thy hand!" The duke held up his

* Stow.—Burghley Papers.—Digges.

hand, and then the indictment was read, charging him with compassing and imagining the death of the queen, with levying war against her within the realm, and with adhering to the queen's public enemies. The overt acts charged were,—1st. That, against the express command of the queen upon his allegiance, he had endeavoured to marry the Queen of Scots, and supplied her with money, well knowing that she claimed a present title to the crown of England; 2nd. That he had sent sums of money to the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and other persons concerned in the rebellion in the north. 3rd. That he had despatched one Rudolfi to the pope, to the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva, in order to excite them to send a foreign army into England, to join with such a force as he, the Duke of Norfolk, might raise for the purpose of making war against the queen within the realm, with intent to depose her, and to effect his own marriage with the Queen of Scots. 4th. That he had relieved and comforted, with money and otherwise, the Lord Herries and other Scots, being the queen's public enemies." The duke besought the lords, if the law would permit it, that he might be allowed counsel. Catline, the chief justice, told him that the law allowed no counsel in cases of high treason. Upon this Norfolk complained that he was hardly handled. "I have had," said he, "very short warning to provide an answer to so great a matter,—not fourteen hours in all, both day and night. I have had short warning, and no books; neither books of statutes, nor so much as a breviate of the statutes. I am brought to fight without a weapon." He said that he was an unlearned man,—that he hoped that they would not overlay him with speeches; that his memory was never good, but now much worse than it was. The duke, however, showed no lack of memory and ready wit, and his acquaintance with the statutes and with Bracton was such that the attorney-general thought proper to taunt him with his nice knowledge of the law. He pleaded not guilty, maintaining,—1st. That the Queen of Scots was not the enemy or competitor of his sovereign,—that, on the death of her husband, the French

king, she put away the title of Queen of England,—that, though her assumption of that title was now cited as the sole proof of her being an enemy, and having always been an enemy, yet the queen, his mistress, had had friendship with her during the ten years which had elapsed since that offence, standing godmother to her son, and doing other kind offices, and that, therefore, in trying to marry the Scottish queen, or in assisting her, he was not guilty of treason. 2nd. That he had never spoken with Rudolfi the Italian but once, and that then he only treated with him regarding some private loan and banking business; hearing from him, indeed, that he, Rudolfi, was intending to seek aid of money among the friends of the Scottish queen, but, as he, the duke, understood him, not for the purpose of levying war in England with this money, but merely that it might be applied by Mary to her own comfort and the encouragement of her own faithful subjects in Scotland. 3rd. That he had never supplied the English rebels in the north with money at the time of their insurrection, although he acknowledged having since sent some assistance to the Countess of Westmoreland, who was his own sister, and in the greatest distress; and that he had given his opinion as to the proper mode of distributing certain sums which had been sent into Flanders by the pope for the relief of the noble English exiles. He admitted that a letter from the pope, consisting of about six or seven lines in Latin, and beginning, *Dilecte fili, salutem*, had been delivered to him; but he said that he was offended with this liberty, and asked what he had to do with the pope, who was an enemy to his religion and his country?

Norfolk, who in his early life had been the pupil of the puritanic Fox, the martyrologist, and who had always passed for a good Protestant, vowed repeatedly on his trial that he would rather be torn to pieces by wild horses than entertain for a moment the notion of any change of religion. Everything the duke said was declared to be false, and was met by the written depositions (all cobbled and garbled) of his servants and accomplices.

When he objected to such evidence he was told that the oaths of the witnesses, who had sworn to all they alleged, were worth more than his bare denial. He demanded to be personally confronted with the witnesses; but this was denied to him. There was, indeed, one witness produced, but he had known neither chains nor torture; he was an agent who had been employed by the Earl of Leicester to ensnare the prisoner, and it would have been well for the decency of the process if he had been kept out of sight altogether. We have mentioned in what manner the evidence of the Bishop of Ross had been extracted: Dr. Wilson, the Master of the Requests, and who, with Sir Thomas Smith, had taken his depositions, wanted him to appear in court and give his evidence orally, but, lacking in courage as he was, the bishop refused, saying, "I never conferred with the duke myself in any of these matters, but only by his servants, nor yet heard him speak one word at any time against his duty to his prince and country; and if I shall be forced to be present, I will publicly profess before the whole nobility that he never opened his mouth maliciously or traitorously against the queen or the realm." Norfolk repeatedly said that the bishop was a very timid man,—that Barker was a timid man,—that only Bannister had courage united to fidelity, and that he was "shrewdly cramped" when he made the false confession they produced. And then Barham, the queen's serjeant, most impudently asserted that Bannister had been no more tortured than the duke himself had been. The famous letter inculpating Norfolk, written by Murray, the late regent, was read in court, together with a letter said to have been sent by the duke to Murray, without going into any proof of the genuineness of those documents.* A great deal of the evidence went upon mere hearsay, and that at second or third hand, but the strangest thing of all—the grossest

* It was merely said, with respect to the duke's letter, that the regent had sent a copy of it to Elizabeth in his (Murray's) handwriting. They did not even profess to have seen the original.

possible interference of the queen—occurred in enforcing that particular part of the prosecution which related to the Rudolfi conspiracy. The solicitor-general stood up, and said, "I have also, my lords, one thing more to say to you from the queen's own mouth. The lords of the privy council do know it very well, but it is not meet here, in open presence, to be uttered, because it toucheth others that are not here now to be named; but, by her highness's order, we pray their lordships that they will impart it unto you more particularly. In Flanders, by the ambassador of a foreign prince, the whole plot of this treason was discovered; and a servant of his, not meaning to conceal so foul and dishonourable a practice, gave intelligence hither by letters. But I refer the more particular declaration thereof to the peers of the privy council." No objection was raised by any one to this strange declaration; on the contrary, they all acted as if it were decisive of the case, and at eight o'clock at night, when the trial had lasted twelve hours, the peers unanimously returned a verdict of guilty. Then the edge of the axe was turned towards the duke, and the Lord Steward said,—"Thomas, duke of Norfolk, the lords, your peers, having now found you guilty, what have you to say why I may not proceed to judgment?" The duke replied, "The Lord's will be done, and God be judge between me and mine accusers:" and then the Lord High Steward, with tears in his eyes, pronounced judgment:—"Thomas, late duke of Norfolk, you have been indicted of high treason, and my lords, your peers, have found you guilty: therefore, this court doth award that you be taken hence to the Tower of London, and from thence be drawn through the midst of London to Tyburn; and there you shall be hanged till you be half dead, and being alive you shall be cut down quick, your bowels shall be taken forth of your body, and burnt before your face; your head shall be smitten off, and your body shall be divided into four quarters; your head and quarters to be set up where it shall please the queen's majesty to appoint: and the Lord have mercy upon your soul." Then the duke said, "This, my lord, is the judgment of a

traitor; but (striking himself hard upon the breast) I am a true man to God and the queen as any that liveth, and always have been so."*

We are not informed as to the countenance and behaviour of Leicester, who sat through the trial and voted the death of his confiding and generous-hearted victim.

The mode in which a case of constructive treason was made up will afford a curious exercise to the mind, and may be studied at length with some advantage.† But, after all, it will not be easy to arrive at any clear notion of the extent of Norfolk's imprudence or guilt. That the Rudolfi conspiracy compassed and imagined the overthrow of Elizabeth, in part by the aid of foreign arms and foreign money, there can be little doubt; but it would have been no unusual case if the conspirators had cloaked and concealed their extremest views from the duke, who was evidently a tool in the hands of more crafty, more daring, and inveterate plotters. If he were privy to the conspiracy in its full extent,—which he always denied, and which was never proved against him by unsuspected evidence,—he was guilty at the least of misprision of treason. He seems to have had a thoroughly English heart; and not only a patriotic feeling for the independence of his country, but also many of the prevailing national prejudices against foreigners of all kinds, not excepting even the Scots. Our own impression is, that he contemplated nothing more than the reinstating of Mary, the sharing in her authority in Scotland, and in her hopes of the English succession on Elizabeth's death. As a man of honour (if we may speak of such a character in such a time), the worst part of his conduct was his breaking his word to Elizabeth; but even there he was goaded and maddened by her harsh usage, beset by agents ever ready to work on his susceptible temper, and fascinated by the letters and messages of Mary.

But, though thus condemned, Elizabeth hesitated to

* Jardine, Criminal Trials.—Burghley Papers.

† See Mr. Jardine's remarks appended to his clear and valuable account of this remarkable trial.

inflict capital punishment on so popular a nobleman, who was her own kinsman, and who had been for many years her tried friend. Five days after his trial the duke wrote a long letter to her majesty, confessing that he had been undutiful, that he had most unkindly offended; but he still denied that he had ever contemplated treason. He told the queen that he was now but as "a dead dog" in this world, and preparing himself for a new kingdom, —that he would not ask her for life, but only beseech her to extend her merciful goodness to his poor orphan children. Elizabeth insidiously urged him to make an ample confession, and accuse others: but this Norfolk nobly refused, even when pleading for his children. "The Lord knoweth," he says, "that I myself know no more than I have been charged withal, nor much of that, although, I humbly beseech God and your majesty to forgive me, I knew a great deal too much. But if it had pleased your highness, whilst I was a man in law, to have commanded my accusers to have been brought to my face, although of my own knowledge I knew no more than I have particularly confessed, yet, if it had pleased your majesty, there might perchance have bolted out somewhat amongst them which might have made somewhat for mine own purgation, and your highness perchance have thereby known that which is now undiscovered. . . . . Now, an if it please your majesty, it is too late for me to come face to face to do you any service; the one being a shameless Scot, and the other an Italianified Englishman,* their faces will be too brazen to yield to any truth that I shall charge them with."† This letter was written from the Tower on the 23rd of January. On Saturday, the 8th of February, Elizabeth signed the warrant for the duke's execution on the Monday following; but at a late hour on Sunday night she summoned to her presence the wily Burghley, who had been earnest with her to permit the law to take its course. The queen, according to Burghley's own words, "now

* Alluding to the Bishop of Ross and Barker.
† Burghley Papers.

entered into a great misliking that the duke should die the next day, and said she was, and should be, disquieted, and that she would have a new warrant made that very night to the sheriffs, to forbear until they should hear further; and so they did."* Another warrant was countermanded in the same manner, and a third, obtained, as the queen gave out, by importunate council, on the 9th of April, was recalled with her own hand at two o'clock in the morning. She was evidently most anxious to lighten the odium of the execution, or to shift it from herself. The preachers, who had of late received regular political instructions from her council, took up the matter, and, unmindful of the evangelical forbearance, clamoured for vengeance on the duke. Private letters were written to the same effect to her majesty, but still she hesitated. In the meanwhile, parliament had assembled. On the 16th of May the Commons communicated with the Lords, and then drew up a petition to the throne, representing that there could be no safety till the duke was dead. The fanatic reasoning or declamation of the Commons had a wonderful effect out of doors—every Protestant seemed to echo their call for blood; and at last Elizabeth put her hand to a death-warrant, which was *not* revoked. Out of regard to his high rank, the brutal punishment awarded by the sentence was commuted into beheading. On the 2nd of June, 1572, at eight o'clock in the morning, the duke was brought to a scaffold erected upon Tower Hill, attended by Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, and Fox, the martyrologist, who had formerly been his tutor. Dr. Nowel desired the multitude to keep silence; after which the duke made a dying speech, which was nearly always expected, if not forcibly exacted, on such occasions. He proceeded to confess neither more nor less than he had done on his trial; to aver that he had never been popishly inclined, though some of his servants and acquaintance were addicted to the Romish religion. Then, after the reading of a psalm or two, he said, with a loud voice, "Lord

* Burghley Papers.

Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The headsman asked the duke's forgiveness, and had it granted. One offering him a handkerchief to cover his eyes, he refused it, saying, "I am not in the least afraid of death." He then fell on his knees, praying, and presently he stretched his neck across the block, and his head, at one blow, was cut off, and showed by the executioner to the sorrowing and weeping multitude.* "It is incredible," continues Camden, a spectator of the sad scene, "how dearly he was loved by the people, whose good-will he had gained by a princely munificence and extraordinary affability. They called likewise to mind the untimely end of his father,† a man of extraordinary learning, and famous in war, who was beheaded in the same place five-and-twenty years before."

But the Protestants, whose wild alarms had not yet subsided, were eager for a still greater sacrifice, and they turned a ready ear to an anonymous casuist, who proved, in his own way, that it stood, not only with justice, but with the honour and safety of Elizabeth, to send the unfortunate Queen of Scots to the scaffold; and to another writer, who supported his arguments with numberless texts of scripture, all made to prove that Mary had been delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by a special providence, and deserved to die the death, because she was guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy, and because she was an idolator, and led others to idolatry.‡ Both Houses would have proceeded against the captive by bill of attainder, but Elizabeth interfered, and they were obliged to rest satisfied with passing a law to make her unable and unworthy of succession to the crown of England.§ The captive queen had been re-

* Camden.

† The accomplished Earl of Surrey, the last noble victim of Elizabeth's father.

‡ D'Ewes.

§ Burghley was disappointed and angry that Elizabeth did not now send Mary to the block. In a letter dated 21st May, 1572, addressed to Walsingham, who was at Paris, he says that there was "soundness" in the Commons, and "no

stored to her old prison in Tutbury Castle immediately after the defeat of the Earl of Northumberland, and, after some hurried removes to Chatsworth and other places, she was now at Sheffield Castle, in the tender keeping of Sir Ralph Sadler and my Lady Shrewsbury, who both wished her in her grave, and seized the opportunity afforded by the trial and condemnation of Norfolk to exult over her sufferings, and insult her to her face.

But Mary had soon to weep for more blood. The Earl of Northumberland, after lying more than two years a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, was basely sold to Elizabeth by the execrable Morton, who, during his own exile in England, had tasted largely of the northern earl's hospitality and generosity. This transaction was the finishing touch to the character of the murderer of Rizzio and of Darnley. He permitted William Douglas, the laird of Lochleven, to enter into a negotiation with the exiled Countess of Northumberland for the liberation of her husband. Two thousand pounds, the price agreed upon, was deposited by the countess at Antwerp. Morton, at the same time, drove another bargain with Elizabeth. In the month of June or July the unfortunate earl was carried on board a vessel to proceed, as he was told by these infernal traitors, to join his dear wife in Flanders. We need scarcely add what followed; as a matter of course he was landed at Berwick, the first English port; from Berwick he was conducted to York, and there beheaded without a trial. The earl, in the parlance of those times, continued obstinate in religion, and declared he would die a Catholic of the pope's church. Sir Thomas Gargrave, who communicates the particulars of the earl's execution to Lord Burghley, adds, "I beseech the Almighty to preserve the queen's majesty and all good subjects from their (the papists') deceitful and cruel practices, the which, in my opinion, they intend, if time would serve. They have too much liberty and scope, and wax hard-hearted, wilful, and stubborn."*

lack" in the higher House, but the queen had spoilt all.—*Dudley Digges.*

* Wright, Queen Elizabeth and her Times.—Sir Thomas

In Scotland many had forfeited their lives for their passionate attachment to Mary. Encouraged and assisted by Elizabeth, the father of Darnley, the imbecile Lennox, had established himself in the regency. More than a year before Norfolk's death, he gained, by surprise, the strong castle of Dumbarton, which had held out most gallantly for the queen. Among the prisoners taken in that fortress was Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom Lennox caused to be hanged at Stirling without trial. The civil war then raged more fiercely than ever. The regent, in a parliament, attainted Secretary Maitland as one of the assassins of his son Darnley, and some chiefs of the House of Hamilton for their opposition to the king's government. He assembled a second parliament, with the intention of passing more attainders, but his own hour was come. The Earl of Huntley, Lord Claude Hamilton, and Scot of Buccleugh, secretly assembled five hundred men, made a night march, and got possession of the town of Stirling without opposition. The Hamiltons, on their onslaught, cried, "Remember the archbishop," for the prelate of St. Andrew's was of their kindred, though only illegitimately so.* In a few moments they broke open the lodgings of the principal lords of the regent's faction, and made them all prisoners, together with Lennox himself. It was the intention of the insurgents to convey their captives to Edinburgh Castle, which was still in their hands; but Morton escaped, barricaded his house, and made a vigorous resistance; the burghers of Stirling rose upon the intruders; some troops arrived under the Earl of Marr, and the victors found themselves obliged to turn and flee. One of the Hamiltons, determined that the regent should not escape, bade him remember the archbishop, and shot

Gargrave was not unusually intolerant; there is scarcely a letter of those times but laments that the persecuted papists are not much more harshly dealt with. If some persons had had their own way, they would have made a sort of Protestant Bartholomew before the Catholic one.

* He was natural brother to the Duke of Chatelherault, the head of the clan.

him through the head. It was a wild scene. As another regent was now wanting, the lords nominated the Earl of Marr—a man far too honourable for those men and those times. Morton had more power than the new regent, and Morton was the devoted friend and servant of Elizabeth, whom he obeyed in all particulars. But, in spite of Morton and Elizabeth, the banner of Mary still floated over the walls of Edinburgh Castle; and in the mountains of the north the Gordons and other Highlanders kept her cause lingering on.

Under the able management of Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith, the treaty with France had been concluded in the month of April, 1572, about six weeks before the Duke of Norfolk's execution. The French king bound himself to give Elizabeth aid in all cases of invasion whatsoever; but Elizabeth did not show any readiness in proceeding with the matrimonial treaty, which was interrupted and renewed several times, and altogether ingeniously prolonged for the space of ten years.

The English queen had been feasting at Kenilworth Castle with the Earl of Leicester, and had reached Woodstock on her way homeward, when she received the dismal intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, at Paris. The late pacification between the French Catholics and Huguenots had been as hollow as all the preceding ones. The nominal head of the Huguenots was the young King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; but the real leader was the veteran Coligni, admiral of France. In the spring of 1571, King Charles professed a wonderful eagerness to reconcile the two parties, and offered the hand of his sister to Henry of Navarre. At the same time, he tempted Coligni with the offer of the command of a great French army to be sent into Flanders to co-operate with the Prince of Orange against the King of Spain. In the summer of the same year, Charles again earnestly solicited the admiral to repair to court, writing to him with his own hand, and sending the letter, backed by warm solicitations from the admiral's near relations, by the hands of Teligny, the

admiral's son-in-law. The admiral, in the autumn of 1571, went to Blois, where Charles was keeping his court. He was received with all honour—was restored to all his former dignities, and the king called him "Father." Meanwhile the match between Henry of Navarre and the Princess Margaret went on; and on the 18th of August of the present year (1572) the marriage was celebrated at Paris. Coligni and a great number of the Protestant lords attended. The three following days were spent in festivity. On the fourth day (Friday, the 22nd of August) the admiral attended a privy council, after which he went to the tennis-yard with the king, the Duke of Guise, and others of the court. As he walked thence homeward through the streets an arquebuse was discharged at him from the window of a house occupied by a dependant of the Duke of Guise. He was struck in two places, but neither of the wounds was dangerous. The Huguenots crowded to his house uttering menacing language against the Guises, for they suspected that the Duke of Guise had directed the blow in revenge for the death of his father, who had been assassinated by Poltrot, the Huguenot, at the siege of Orleans.* On Saturday, the 23rd, the queen-mother held secret conferences in the Louvre, and after dinner, or about noon, she entered the king's chamber, where her other son, the Duke of Anjou, and several lords soon joined her. All united in representing to Charles that the Huguenots were at that moment plotting his destruction, and that, if he did not destroy them before night, he and his whole family would be sacrificed before the next morning. According to his own account, he thereupon gave a reluctant consent to a general massacre, the execution of which was intrusted to the Dukes of Guise, Anjou, and

* The Guises had maintained that Poltrot was an agent of Coligni. The Huguenots *did* occasionally resort to assassinations as well as the Catholics. Nearly four years before this attempted assassination of Cologni an attempt was made to murder another of Queen Mary's uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine, at Rheims.—Letter from Sir Henry Norris to Cecil, given by Wright.

Aumale, Montespan, and Marshal Tavannes, who are generally believed to have arranged the whole plan beforehand with the queen-mother. Charles and Catherine then went to an open balcony to await the result, the young king trembling all over. At a concerted signal—the tolling of a church bell—the work of blood began. The house of Coligni was burst open, and he and all in it were murdered. The butchers threw the bodies out of the windows into the streets, where they were treated with brutal indignity: and then the tocsin was sounded from the parliament house, calling upon the people to protect their religion and their king. Forthwith all Paris resounded with the horrid cries of "Death to the Huguenots!—kill every man of them!—kill!—kill!" And the Protestants, wherever they could be found, were atrociously slaughtered, men, women, and children. Towards evening proclamation was made, by sound of trumpet, that it was the king's will the slaughter should cease; but the Parisians were drunk with blood, and the massacre was partially continued through that night and the two following days. Scenes of precisely the same sort were enacted in Rouen, Lyons, and other cities. In Paris alone, five hundred men of rank, and nearly ten thousand of inferior conditions, were butchered in cold blood. All were not Huguenots, for many a Catholic took this easy opportunity of despatching his personal enemy without regard to his creed. In all France thirty thousand individuals are said to have perished on St. Bartholomew's day and the days of slaughter which followed it.*

* The number of the dead is variously stated, according to the religion of the parties writing, at 4000, 10,000, 40,000, 70,000, 100,000! De Thou, Adriani, De Serres, and the author of a discourse addressed to the Swiss cantons, quoted by Mr. Allen (Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq., 8vo., London, 1827), agree in stating the total number at 30,000.

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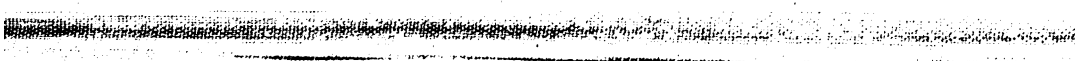
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